

Matthew's New David at the End of Exile

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Matthew's New David at the End of Exile

A Socio-Rhetorical Study of Scriptural Quotations

By

Nicholas G. Piotrowski



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for Buzz
in memoriam



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Foreword

In light of recent events like the bouts of violence directed against Jews and the resurgence of new-Nazism in the West, many have the palpable sense that anti-Semitism is on the rise. The impact of disturbing trends like these is not completely lost on the field of New Testament studies, and within this field the sub-specialty of gospels studies. The gospel-writers and the communities they represented lived at the crosshairs of a socio-religious conflict that proved to be the crucible out of which early Christianity would be formed and by which post-Temple Judaism would be stamped. Because these two movements would in turn give rise to trajectories which shared a highly conflicted and at points morally problematic relationship; contemporary historical analysis of the early Christian communities' founding documents, with their recurring interest in self-definition vis-à-vis the local synagogue, is inevitably a fraught undertaking. In times when the security of modern-day Judaism seems to be at risk, the task is all the more fraught.

To complicate matters further, scholarly accounts of how early Christianity construed itself in relation to the Judaism(s) of its day have fallen out along a spectrum of options. In an earlier day, gospels scholars would unflinchingly sling language suggesting that the church had radically supplanted Israel as the people of God. Taking a position on the other side of the divide, others have maintained that the earliest Christians held to something like a dual-covenant theology, legitimizing Judaism's continuing adherence to the law, on the one hand, and commending the Gentiles' obligation to Christ, on the other. In between are a range of mediating positions which acknowledge the early church's professed continuity with Israel, at least as far as the former understood itself, but also its perception that the Christ-event had marked *the* turning-point of Israel's redemptive history. I confess I have never counted noses, but in my judgment it is this broad range of mediating positions which has won the day among the bulk of New Testament scholars. That the early church sought to carve out space for itself within the Jewish milieu while at the same time recognizing that it was calling Jews and Gentiles alike to something categorically different from Judaism as it had come to be known prior to Pentecost—this much, I think, is simply borne out by the historical facts. This much, I believe, is what the gospels meant, regardless what they are interpreted to mean or should mean today.

Yet even if many would agree that early Christianity saw Jesus Christ as the turning-point of history, this hardly resolves the question, "Turning point from *what* exactly?" To be sure, even a superficial reading of the gospels will yield

the impression that the evangelists wish to present Jesus as the source of salvation, but in what context is this salvation to be understood? If the coming of the messiah meant that Israel has turned a great corner, what corner did first-century folk have in mind? Astonishingly, it is questions like these that—perhaps because they *appear* to command glaringly obvious answers—have remained curiously neglected in the literature.

In this excellent study, Nicholas Piotrowski makes an important contribution to this under-examined issue by exploring the self-identity of the Matthean community as reflected in the evangelist's reading of the Hebrew scriptures. Of course, the gospel-writer never explicitly tells us what he makes of Israel's inscripturated story. But, as Piotrowski argues, he does in a sense show us (as well as, of course, his first-century readers), not least through the scriptural citations concentrated in his opening prologue. Whereas an earlier generation of Matthean scholarship has focused almost exclusively on the Christological import of these curiously front-loaded citations, our author builds on this interest but expands its compass, so as to include illuminating socio-rhetorical reflection. As it turns out, so our author argues, these quoted snippets were made to serve as not simply Christological prooftexts but mirrors for the Matthean community. Or, to switch metaphors, if we come to be persuaded by the argument contained in the following pages, we will begin to see that the evangelist's quotations are like strategically situated windows in a naturally lit theater, ushering in light from the outside world of the Hebrew scriptures and bringing it to bear on an inside stage. On this stage Matthew wants his hearers to take their place as the redemptive-historical plot moves inexorably toward the restoration from exile. Indeed, on first blush, the opening chapters' scriptural quotations appear very different one from another. But what if these differences were more incidental than fundamental? What if they were like an array of variously hued stain glass apertures, conducting the rays of a single light source behind them all? And what if this singular light was one and the same as the "great light" seen by "the people walking in darkness" (Isaiah 9:2)?

Needless to say, if this were true (and we will of course leave it to the reader to be the final arbiter), it would force us to reread Matthew accordingly. If this were true, then we have added reason to suppose that the faith which Matthew enjoins is not a system of religion, set into place to replace a prior system of religion, but rather a form of existential engagement with an already lively discussion joined by—many though perhaps not all—first-century Jews: how was Israel's God going to reverse the exile? While the solution Matthew commends is totalizing, we must remember that such was the nature of ancient Jewish faith and intersectarian discourse. If the history of post-exilic Israel can be

fairly summarized as a history of persistent self-redefinition, then Matthew's community is merely joining themselves to this same very Jewish trajectory.

One reason (among many) I am delighted with the present volume is because it promises to take us one step closer to situating Matthew appropriately within his first-century context, which as a bonus promises important historical and theological dividends. In recent decades Matthew has been lumped in among the rogue's gallery of those who stand *contra Judaeos*. This is not a trivial charge, as we are reminded in light of the aforementioned contemporary developments. But before the guild settles into any firm conclusions about the evangelist, we would do well to make sure that our reading of the gospel, both the world of the text and the world behind the text, is properly framed. Riding a wave of emerging scholarship, this volume forces us to ask afresh (with apologies to Ed Sanders): "If Christ is the solution, then what did early Christianity think the problem was?" How we answer this question is not unrelated to the tensions inherent in the task of doing post-Holocaust New Testament Theology. Sometimes it takes a groundbreaking project to get us to ask the important questions afresh. Perhaps this volume is just such a project. I suspect it may be.

Nicholas Perrin

Preface

I have been fascinated with the New Testament's use of the Old Testament for nearly my entire adult life. How ideologically powerfully it must have been when first-century CE Jews read/heard their ancient scriptures in new contexts. Upon delving into the field it was not long before I sensed that the first gospel writer was not taken very seriously as a hermeneutist. In fact, his uses of the OT have served as exhibits A, B, C, etc. for the NT authors' noncontextual readings of the OT. "How rhetorically weak," I thought, "if Matthew's OT citations have nothing to do with their meanings in their original textual homes?" It appeared particularly that the evangelist's uses of Isa 7:14, Hos 11:1 and Jer 31:15 were the most egregious offenses. On the other hand, his use of Mic 5:1 seems so predictable it is boring. And who knows what is going on with Matt 2:23's "He will be called a Nazorean?" Adding fuel to this intertextual fire is the observation that these texts *lead* Matthew's story and, therefore, presentation of Jesus and the Christian gospel. How seriously can we take the entire narrative if it opens in such a bumbling way? This work is, therefore, my attempt to thoroughly investigate Matthew's OT quotations in his prologue for their ability to draw various components of the OT thought-world into the gospel to the end of providing reading and worldview orientation to its audiences. Thus, this study is concerned with *contexts*: the OT contexts from which the quotations arise, the Matthean contexts into which they are placed, and the first-century CE context of the first Christians. It turns out that the aforementioned allegations against Matthew result from inadequate methods and hasty conclusions.

In narrating his 28-chapter story Matthew employs thirteen formula-quotations. Seven—more than half—are crowded into the first four chapters. While great attention has been paid to the evangelist's use of the OT as a means of discovering his sources and their text-forms, very little has been done to elucidate the hermeneutical effect such front-loading has on the level of the narrative. Conclusions about Matthew's theology, therefore, are lacking without taking full account of the quotes' contents as well as the narrative worlds they generate into the gospel. To redress this I employ a socio-rhetorical approach that takes seriously the perlocutionary effect of the *story*. Chapter 1 lays out this method that is both narratologically sensitive and historically responsible.

The seven prologue-quotations have in common that they all emerge from OT contexts concerned with David or the end of the exile or, more often, both. Taken together, they form a constellation of texts that evoke specific and inter-related expectations for Israel's future. The prologue's narration progresses

through intertextual conversations with these seven quotations that select two dominant frames: «David» and «end-of-exile». These frames become for the reader an interpretive guide for understanding not only the prologue but the entire narrative in terms of the OT's expectations for a son-of-David-led restoration. These conclusions are the burden of chapters 2 through 8, with and excursus of sorts in chapter 4 into late Second Temple Jewish texts.

In the final chapter I pursue the socially formative effect Matthew's prologue-quotations plausibly had. The intertextual conversations they generate contribute to selecting interpretive frames whereby the exile and its end become determinative paradigms for Matthew's ecclesiology. Jesus is the son of David whose eschatological mission is to end the crisis and re-form Israel. Those who respond to his preaching (summarized in 4:17) and place themselves under the atonement he provides (summarized in 26:26–28, anticipated in 1:21) are Yahweh's eschatological end-of-exile people. This is a Christology situated within the landscape of the OT prophets' hope for restoration. The narrative's effect on Matthew's church was the formation of a self-identity in terms of the OT metanarrative's incompleteness vis-à-vis the enduring exile. In turn, it also shaped their understanding of other groups with a competing ideological claim on the same ancient metanarrative.

In short, I find that Matthew was quite deft at reading and employing the OT for his gospel narration. Attending to these intertextual dynamics opens our eyes to intriguing details of Matthew's theology and gives us insight into Christian origins.

Acknowledgments

The current work is a revision and expansion (and at some places abridgement) of my 2013 Wheaton College dissertation titled “Scripture and Community: The Socio-Rhetorical Effect of Matthew’s Prologue-Quotations.” In the accompanying acknowledgments I thanked dozens of friends, colleagues and family members for their various kinds of support. That gratitude is still *deeply* felt. I’d like to thank a few of those persons expressly again for their continued help in moving that work to this current monograph form, as well as a couple new individuals.

The first is the Lord Jesus Christ, who called me out of exile and reconciled me to the Creator. That larger biblical-theological truth was the motivation for the entire project. The second is my wife, Cheryl, whose unwavering support was absolutely essential in completing the original dissertation. Her encouragement drove me from start to finish, even when, after the defense, I told her, “Well, I’m not exactly done yet.” The third is my *Doktorvater*, Nick Perrin, who deftly provided direction, wisdom, methodological precision and writing clarity as he patiently saved me from many errors and strengthened my arguments. If readers quibble with any content in the following pages they should think only of me.

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Soli Deo gloria.

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List of Abbreviations

ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament: Studien zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York, 1992
ABG	Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte
ABR	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
ACCSOT	Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: Old Testament
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AGRL	Aspects of Greek and Roman Life
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums
AnBib	Analecta biblica
ANF	<i>Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers Down to AD 325</i> . Edited by A. Roberts et al. 10 vols. Ann Arbor, 1962–1965
ANTC	Abingdon New Testament Commentaries
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ARBIB	The Aramaic Bible
ASBT	Acadia Studies in Bible and Theology
ASem	Advances in Semiotics
ASNU	Acta seminarii neotestamentici upsaliensis
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
AUS	American University Studies
AUSS	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BBR	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BDAG	Danker, F. W., W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 3d ed. Chicago, 1999
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Oxford, 1907
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BibOr	Biblica et orientalia
BibS(N)	Biblische Studien (Neukirchen, 1951–)

BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
BjSt	Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California, San Diego
BK	Bibel und Kirche
BMSEC	Baylor-Mohr Siebeck Studies in Early Christianity
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
<i>BSac</i>	<i>Bibliotheca sacra</i>
BS	The Biblical Seminar
BSL	Biblical Studies Library
<i>BT</i>	<i>The Bible Translator</i>
BU	Biblische Untersuchungen
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CalTMB	Calwer theologische Monographien; Bibelwissenschaft
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CC	Continental Commentary
CCJC	Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum: Series latina. Turnhout, 1953–
<i>CJT</i>	<i>Canadian Journal of Theology</i>
CL	Cunningham Lectures
ConBNT	Coniectanea neotestamentica/Coniectanea biblica: New Testament Series
ConBOT	Coniectanea biblica: Old Testament Series
Concilium	Concilium
CSJH	Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism
<i>CTJ</i>	<i>Calvin Theological Journal</i>
<i>DJG</i>	<i>Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels</i> . Edited by J. B. Green and S. McKnight. Downers Grove, 1992
<i>DJG</i> ²	<i>Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels</i> , 2d ed. Edited by J. B. Green, J. K. Brown, and N. Perrin. Downers Grove, 2013
DQ	Documenta Q
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls

EB	English Bible
EBC	Expositor's Bible Commentary
EBib	Etudes bibliques
EJL	Early Judaism and its Literature
EPSC	Evangelical Press Study Commentary
<i>EstBib</i>	<i>Estudios bíblicos</i>
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses</i>
EVIPP	Eric Voegelin Institute Series in Political Philosophy
<i>EvQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FB	Forschung zur Bibel
FCCGRW	First-Century Christians in the Graeco-Roman World
<i>FN</i>	<i>Filologia Neotestamentaria</i>
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GBS	Guides to Biblical Scholarship
GTA	Göttinger theologischer Arbeiten
<i>HAR</i>	<i>Hebrew Annual Review</i>
<i>HBT</i>	<i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i>
<i>HeyJ</i>	<i>Heythrop Journal</i>
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>HvTSt</i>	<i>Hervormde theologiese studies</i>
<i>IB</i>	<i>Interpreter's Bible</i> . Edited by G. A. Buttrick et al. 12 vols. New York, 1951–1957
IBC	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
ILPT/BTS	International Library of Philosophy and Theology/Biblical and Theological Studies
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
ISFCJ	University of South Florida International Studies in Formative Christianity and Judaism
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCT	Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies

<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JLCRS	Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion Series
<i>JNSL</i>	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JSHJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Meyer-Kommentar)
K-GHNT	Handbuch zum neuen Testament by Erich Klostermann and Hugo Gressmann
LHB/OTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies (formerly JSNTSup)
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
<i>LtSp</i>	<i>Letter & Spirit</i>
LXX	Septuagint
MBC	Mellen Biblical Commentary
MBMC	Matrix: The Bible in Mediterranean Context
<i>MHAJ</i>	<i>Mars Hill Audio Journal</i>
MT	Masoretic Text
NAC	New American Commentary
<i>NA</i> ²⁷	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> , Nestle-Aland, 27th ed.
NCBC	New Cambridge Bible Commentary
NCentBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NEchtB	Neue Echter Bibel
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
NFTL	New Foundations Theological Library
NIBCOT	New International Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament

NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology
NT	New Testament
NTABH	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTC	New Testament in Context
NTL	New Testament Library
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTP	New Testament Perspectives
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
NTTH	New Testament Theology
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
NVBS	New Voices in Biblical Studies
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OBT	Overtures to Biblical Theology
OT	Old Testament
OTG	Old Testament Guides
OTL	Old Testament Library
<i>OTP</i>	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> . Edited by J. H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. New York, 1983, 1985
OtSt	Oudtestamentische Studiën
OxTM	Oxford Theological Monographs
PFBR	Publications of the Perry Foundation for Biblical Research in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem
PL	Patrologia latina [= Patrologiae cursus completes: Series latina]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 217 vols. Paris, 1844–1864
PRS	Perspectives in Religious Studies
PrTMS	Princeton Theological Monograph Series
PTMS	Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RBL</i>	<i>Review of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>ResQ</i>	<i>Restoration Quarterly</i>
<i>RHPR</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
RNT	Regensburger Neues Testament
RNTS	Reading the New Testament Series
<i>RSB</i>	<i>Religious Studies Bulletin</i>
SANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testaments

SB	Sources bibliques
SBAB	Stuttgarter biblische Aufsatzbände
SBEC	Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and its Literature
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SEJC	Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity
SHBC	Smyth & Helwys Bible Commentary
SHJ	Studying the Historical Jesus
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions (supplements to <i>Numen</i>)
<i>sjt</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Sacra pagina
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
SSEJC	Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity
<i>st</i>	<i>Studia theologica</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StJud	Studies in Judaism
StBL	Studies in Biblical Literature
Str-B	Strack, H. L., and P. Billerbeck. <i>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch</i> . 6 vols. Munich, 1922–1961
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigrapha
Sym.	Symmachus
SynK	Synagoge und Kirchen
TANZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
TB	Theologische Bücherei: Neudrucke und Berichte aus dem 20. Jahrhundert
TCLit	Translations of Christian Literature
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Translated by G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, 1964–1976
<i>TDOT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by G. J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren, and H.-J. Fabry. Translated by J. T. Willis, G. W. Bromiley, D. E. Green, and D. W. Scott. 15 vols. Grand Rapids, 1974–1995

<i>Them</i>	<i>Themelios</i>
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TOTL	Tyndale Old Testament Lectures
TR	Theology and Religion
<i>Transeu</i>	<i>Transeuphrantène</i>
<i>TrinJ</i>	<i>Trinity Journal</i>
<i>TS</i>	<i>Theological Studies</i>
<i>TüBa</i>	<i>Tübinger Bibelatlas</i> (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2001)
TUGAL	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
<i>TWOT</i>	<i>Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by R. L. Harris and G. L. Archer Jr. 2 vols. Chicago, 1980
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
UBS ⁴	<i>The Greek New Testament</i> , United Bible Societies, 4th ed.
UNHAI	Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul
<i>USQR</i>	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
UUA	Uppsala Universitetsårskrift
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
<i>VD</i>	<i>Verbum domini</i>
VSA	Verbum salutis annexe
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WestBC	Westminster Bible Companion
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZacSNT	Zacchaeus Studies: New Testament
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZKNT	Kommentar zum neuen Testament by Theodor Zahn
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der ältern Kirche</i>

Introduction

Cultural history requires us to take seriously the *forms* by which a culture transmits its knowledge, and thereby shapes its members' competencies and self-conceptions.

STEVEN D. FRAADE, "Looking for Legal Midrash at Qumran"¹



Matthew tells a story. To be more precise, the evangelist takes up an old story, interpretively retells it, and moves it forward. Beginning with the first sentence, the gospel writer invokes the suspended Old Testament narrative and uses it as scaffolding for the rest of his own story.

Matthew tells a story to a community. We do not know much about this community, but we can say at least three things. First, we know that prior to the creation of the text the Matthean community already had some previous Jesus material, likely Mark and Q but at least some form of oral tradition. Second, we can deduce from the vast quantity of OT material² that the author assumed his audience had some working knowledge of the OT's content.³ Third, we can

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- 1 Steven D. Fraade, "Looking for Legal Midrash at Qumran," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 75; emphasis original. Fraade also invokes Roger Chartier's related agenda: "How are we to understand the ways in which the form that transmits a text to its readers or hearers constrains the production of its meaning? The appropriation of discourse is not something that happens without rules or limits. Writing deploys strategies that are meant to produce effects, dictate a posture, and oblige the reader. . . . If we want to understand the appropriations and interpretations of a text in their full historicity, we need to identify the effects in terms of meaning that its material form produced" (*Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances and Audiences from Codex to Computer* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995], 1–2).
 - 2 The UBS⁴ lists 54 explicit OT quotations in Matthew. Added to that, Donald Senior has counted no less than 250 OT allusions listed in the NA²⁷ ("The Lure of the Formula Quotations: Re-Assessing Matthew's Use of the Old Testament with the Passion Narrative as Test Case," in *The Scriptures in the Gospels* [ed. C. M. Tuckett; BETL 131; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997], 89).
 - 3 R. T. France says Matthew 1–2 "show[s] a remarkably detailed knowledge of the OT text. . . . And the author seems to assume that at least some of the original readers of the book would have been able to follow such sophisticated patterns of thought" (*The Gospel of Matthew*

surmise that his audience recognized the OT quotations as “canonical,”⁴ even on the numerous occasions when the author does not explicitly state that he is quoting the Scriptures.⁵ Matthew is saturated with OT quotations, allusions, and echoes; in reading the narrative Matthew’s community was suffused with the same. Thus, with the reception of the Matthean text the community henceforth increasingly understood itself and the surrounding world under the auspices of a new Markan redaction and/or codification of the tradition, now thoroughly intertwined with an OT metanarrative that had a powerful socially-formative presence for dozens of prior generations.

But how does the OT story function in Matthew? What specific emphases of that story are most determinative for the Matthean narrative? What do readers who are most conversant with the OT’s content perceive when specific images are evoked? What effect do such evocations have on how readers understand Matthew’s story? And how did that story shape Matthew’s first readers’ understanding of themselves and the world around them?

The purpose of this study is to use socio-rhetorical tools toward addressing these questions. Socio-rhetorical criticism offers a coordinating analytic that brings together multiple hermeneutical methods in an attempt to contribute to the larger scholarly discussion over the intricate and beautiful tapestry that is Matthew’s gospel.⁶ The end is an evaluation of a text’s potential to participate in cultural and ideological formation and change.⁷ For Matthew it provides an arena to navigate between narrative and historical worlds. On the one

[NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007], 45). See also idem, “The Formula-Quotations of Matthew 2 and the Problem of Communication” in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?: Essays on the Use of the Old Testament in the New* (ed. G. K. Beale; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994), 114–34; repr. from *NTS* 27 (1980–1981): 233–51.

4 See Peter Balla on the first-century idea of “canonical” writings even without an official list (*Challenges to New Testament Theology: An Attempt to Justify the Enterprise* [Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1998; repr. from *WUNT* 2/95; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997], 98–106, 144–46).

5 The first explicit quotation is introduced in 1:22 with the formula τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος. Slight variations to this formula occur another twelve times through the gospel (2:5, 15, 17, 23; 3:3; 4:14; 8:17; 12:17; 13:14, 35; 21:4; 27:9 [26:56 does not have an accompanying quotation]).

6 Socio-rhetorical critics speak of texts as fabrics where the warp (the rhetoric of the piece) and woof (the text’s ability to participate in social change) create various designs (the tapestry) that are observed when diverse hermeneutical methods are brought to bear. See Margaret E. Dean, “Textured Criticism,” *JSNT* 70 (1998): 79–80, 86.

7 “The approach invites detailed attention to the text itself . . . [and] it moves interactively into the world of the people who wrote the texts and into our present world” (Vernon K. Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts: A Guide to Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation* [Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1996], 1).

hand it calls the interpreter to take into account the form of the literary piece and the rhetoric common to the genre employed. On the other hand, it bids the exegete to give due attention to the social and historical situation in which the text was produced and first read/heard. The result is that a piece of art can be studied on its own terms and its form seriously considered for its unique rhetorical effect on an historical community. It supplies a way to steer the hermeneutical ship between the Scylla of a narrative world entirely divorced from its original historical context and the Charybdis of an historical investigation uninformed by Matthew's genre and writing style.⁸ At one and the same time it positions scholars to give due weight to the fact that Matthew's locution is a story, and that he and his audience lived in a specific location at a specific time.

To that end I start with the world *in* the text and employ the interpretive construct of the "Model Reader"—hereafter "reader"—which Umberto Eco calls the textually determined competent reader who is able to interpret a text in the way the author directs through the text itself.⁹ Such an approach to Matthew, however, quickly directs an interpreter to the world *around* the text given the terrific volume of OT intertextuality. Specifically, I examine the narrative effect of Matthew's explicitly referenced OT quotations in his prologue (1:1–4:16)—hereafter "prologue-quotations"—and the hermeneutical reverberations that emerge from them and resonate across the rest of the story.¹⁰ Finally, the topic of the gospel's historical use can be broached—the world

8 According to David A. deSilva the value of this "interpretive analytic" is an affirmative answer to the question, "Does it avoid pitfalls associated with more limited avenues of interpretation?" ("Hebrews 6:4–8: A Socio-Rhetorical Investigation [Part 1]," *TynBul* 50 [1999]: 34).

9 Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (ASem; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), 7–11. The Model Reader "is not an empirical accident independent of the text *qua* text, but is a structural element of its generative process" (*ibid.*, 9). So if "a text is a device conceived in order to produce its Model Reader" and "the empirical reader is only an actor who makes conjectures about the kind of Model Reader postulated by the text" (*idem*, *The Limits of Interpretation* [ASem; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990], 58–59), then the best empirical readers are those that approximate the Model Reader. Ulrich Luz comments that such intelligent interpreters "are the sort of readers Matthew must have hoped for, and they must have existed in his day" (*The Theology of the Gospel of Matthew* [trans. J. Bradford Robinson; NTTh; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995], 1–6; quote from pp. 5–6).

10 Though discussion has largely focused on the high density of formula-quotations in chs. 1–2, they in fact appear through the whole of the prologue, which is commonly understood to run into ch. 4 (Ulrich Luz, *Matthew* [trans. James E. Crouch; 3 vols.; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001–2007], 1:71–72).

in front of the text.¹¹ Stories are powerful, and so must be carefully heard before anything of their real-world effect can be considered.¹²

The thesis I put forward is that Matthew's prologue-quotations give shape to the narrative's christological and ecclesiological vision by drawing on the language of Israel's exile and restoration. Texts commonly select frames for audiences with which they can intelligently interpret a piece of art; I argue that the prologue-quotations, individually and collectively, select a frame that evokes one pervasive OT subplot: «David/end-of-exile». The result is that the author sets the narrative in a redemptive-historical context and characterizes the people of God in terms of Israel's expectations of restoration from exile through the eschatological Davidide. The gospel, in turn, becomes the story of covenant renewal for Jesus and "his people" (1:21), and the inception of an aggravated exile for those who oppose him. This serves to give Matthew's community (broadly defined) a sense of identity in terms of the OT subplot vis-à-vis the mother religion from whom they have separated (or are then currently separating): Matthew's believing audience constitutes Yahweh's eschatological end-of-exile people whom the OT foresees. This appropriates for the Matthean community a powerful self-identification that places them squarely on Yahweh's foreordained covenantal calendar. Identifying that subplot, elucidating the textually selected frames, employing those frames for interpretation, and describing the narrative's rhetorical effect is the burden of this study as a whole.

The Function of Matthew's Formula-Quotations in Recent Scholarship

Over the last century studies concerning Matthew's use of the OT have primarily focused on the "fulfillment-quotations"—texts introduced with a formula including the word *πληρωθή*.¹³ Most studies have been source and redaction

11 Eco commonly argues that matters of interpretation must precede speculation over a text's historical use (see e.g. *Limits*, 57–60, 62; cf. also R. Alan Culpepper, "Mapping the Textures of New Testament Criticism: A Response to Socio-Rhetorical Criticism," *JSNT* 70 [1998]: 73).

12 While I affirm that much has led up and contributed to the final form of Matthew, it is after all the narrative itself, through rhetorical strategies, that seeks to influence readers.

13 There are ten: 1:22–23; 2:15; 2:17–18; 2:23; 4:14–16; 8:17; 12:17–21; 13:35; 21:4–5; 27:9–10. See "Study Parameters" below for why three more quotes can be added to this list despite the fact that their formulas do not include the word *πληρωθή*.

critical in their approaches, investigating the text-form and the origin of the quotations.¹⁴ These studies have by and large found, with varying nuances, Matthew's christological interests to be the theological motive behind the quotations.

Christology

Georg Strecker believes that the author's goal was to further his program of "historicizing" the story of Jesus, placing it squarely in a distinct redemptive-historical epoch.¹⁵ As one generation replaced another in the Matthean community, the church needed a Jesus-story able to deal with its changing eschatology.¹⁶ Thus the final redactor used the quotes to demonstrate that the historical details of Jesus' life had redemptive-historical significance insofar as they fulfilled Scripture.¹⁷

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- 14 Because the present study has little need to work with theories of Matthew's sources, and even less need to work with his text-forms, this review is primarily concerned with the function of the formula-quotations for Matthew's theology. Therefore, findings regarding Matthew's text-forms are mentioned throughout this work only insofar as they shed light on the function of the quotations. More thorough reviews of text-forms can be found in Frans van Segbroeck, "Les citations d'accomplissement dans l'Évangile selon saint Matthieu d'après trois ouvrages récents," in *L'Évangile selon Matthieu: Rédaction et théologie* (ed. M. Didier; BETL 29; Gembloux: Duculot, 1970), 107–30; George M. Soares Prabhu, *The Formula Quotations in the Infancy Narrative of Matthew: An Enquiry into the Tradition History of Mt 1–2* (AnBib 63; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1976), 18–26, 45–77, 104–106, 162–70; R. T. France, *Matthew: Evangelist and Teacher* (NTP; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1989), 166–81; Graham N. Stanton, *A Gospel for a New People: Studies in Matthew* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1992), 351–63; David S. New, *Old Testament Quotations in the Synoptic Gospels, and the Two-Document Hypothesis* (SBLSCS 37; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 23–37; Donald Senior, *What Are They Saying About Matthew?* (rev. and exp. ed.; New York: Paulist Press, 1996), 51–61; idem, "Lure," 89–103; Richard Beaton, *Isaiah's Christ in Matthew's Gospel* (SNTSMS 123; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 14–34; Lena Lybæk, *New and Old in Matthew 11–13: Normativity in the Development of Three Theological Themes* (FRLANT 198; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 26–36; Maarten J. J. Menken, *Matthew's Bible: The Old Testament Text of the Evangelist* (BETL 173; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004), 1–10; idem, "Messianic Interpretation of Greek Old Testament Passages in Matthew's Fulfilment Quotations" in *The Septuagint and Messianism* (ed. Michael A. Knibb; BETL 195; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006), 459–64.

Issues of Matthew's source are addressed in the appendix.

- 15 Georg Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit: Untersuchung zur Theologie des Matthäus* (3d exp. ed.; FRLANT 82; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 82–85.
- 16 Ibid., 51–52.
- 17 Ibid., 72, 82–85.

In a source and text critical study, Robert H. Gundry sees Matthew attempting to associate Jesus with various images of Israel's messianic hope.¹⁸ Thus, the formula-quotations, together with context-quotations and OT allusions, cast Jesus in prominent messianic roles. These include the royal Messiah, the Isaianic Servant, the Danielic Son of Man, the Shepherd of Israel, Yahweh himself, the greater Moses, the greater Son of David, the representative prophet, the representative Israelite, and the representative righteous sufferer.

In many ways responding to Strecker, Wilhelm Rothfuchs argues that the formula-quotations originated in the church's missionary preaching to Israel, and thus do not demonstrate historical, but missiological concerns.¹⁹ The quotations teach that the risen Christ is the fulfillment of God's revelation and salvific purposes. By the time of Matthew's writing, however, the mission had already moved to the Gentiles and so Matthew redacted the quotes to show this movement as well as to set forth the risen Christ as present in the church.

To Richard S. McConnell the quotations give authority to Matthew's presentation of Jesus' life insofar as it is in harmony with OT prophecy.²⁰ While Jesus himself may not have had such concerns, in McConnell's view, Matthew does wish to use the OT to show that Jesus fulfilled the OT as the Messiah. To that end, and to clear up the confusion created when Jesus did not appear as the sort of messiah expected, the quotations were used to show that Jesus' identity, geographical facts about his life, the nature of his ministry, and the reason for his condemnation were all foreseen in the OT.

Addressing primarily the quotations' distribution, Frans van Segbroeck identifies a surplus of Isaianic quotations where Matthew follows Mark less closely. He contends they are meant to highlight Jesus' rejection much the way Isaiah was rejected.²¹

R. T. France, among others, sees "fulfillment" as a significant theological concern for Matthew. Thus, the quotations serve the evangelist's theology of chris-

18 Robert H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel, With Special Reference to the Messianic Hope* (NovTSup 18; Leiden: Brill, 1967), 208–15.

19 Wilhelm Rothfuchs, *Die Erfüllungszitate des Matthäus-Evangeliums: Eine biblische-theologische Untersuchung* (BWANT 88; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1969), 89–133. Rothfuchs builds on G. D. Kilpatrick's idea that the gospel itself originated through expository sermons in synagogues (*The Origins of the Gospel of According to St. Matthew* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946], 57–71, 92–95).

20 Richard S. McConnell, *Law and Prophecy in Matthew's Gospel: The Authority and Use of the Old Testament in the Gospel of St. Matthew* (Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt, 1969), 133–38.

21 Van Segbroeck "Citations," 120–28.

theological fulfillment.²² The formula and the quotations declare “how God’s previously announced purpose has reached its due conclusion in Jesus.”²³

Maarten J. J. Menken contends that they serve to summarize and conclude certain messianic themes running through the gospel.²⁴ Those in the infancy narrative show Jesus as the Messiah before his ministry, while the others show he is the Messiah in that he is a preacher, a healer, the Servant, a teacher of hidden things, the one coming to Jerusalem, and the rejected one.

Some perceive an apologetic motive behind the quotations. Barnabas Lindars contends that the quotations comprise an apologetic motif against Judaism.²⁵ But W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison Jr. see an intended christological apologetic to the already-believing community.²⁶

Recently, narrative-critical methods have been employed. As a result, attention has been given to the effect these quotations have on understanding the discourse. Again, Christology has come to the fore. David B. Howell argues that Matthew’s use of Israel’s Scriptures fills the need for “verisimilitude.”²⁷ The quotations are external to the narrative world and, by virtue of their agreed authority, lend credibility to the implied author and plausibility to the story,²⁸ while pressing upon readers the weight of accepting or rejecting Jesus. Richard Beaton comments that the citations have a “bi-referential” effect; they are significant for the linear movement of the narrative and also for conveying theological reflection on Christ.²⁹

Despite this new interest, however, only one narrative-critical monograph has been produced that examines the quotations with sustained focus. Jean Miler has investigated each fulfillment-quotation, one by one, and inquired

22 France, *Matthew*, 166–72. So too Stanton, *Gospel*, 359–63. J. R. Daniel Kirk provides a helpful discussion on how various interpreters have understood “fulfillment” in Matthew (“Conceptualising Fulfilment in Matthew,” *TynBul* 59 [2008]: 77–98).

23 France, *Evangelist*, 172.

24 Menken, “Messianic Interpretation,” 457–86.

25 Barnabas Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations* (London: SCM Press, 1961), 259–65. See also Krister Stendahl, “*Quis et Unde?: An Analysis of Mt 1–2*,” in *Judentum, Urchristentum, Kirche: Festschrift für Joachim Jeremias* (ed. Walther Eltester; BZNW 26; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1960), 94–105.

26 W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison Jr., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (3 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988–1997), 3:577.

27 David B. Howell, *Matthew’s Inclusive Story: A Study in the Narrative Rhetoric of the First Gospel* (JSNTSup 42; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1990), 179–90.

28 Similarly, Jack Dean Kingsbury, *Matthew as Story* (2d ed., rev. and enl.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 32–33.

29 Beaton, *Isaiah’s Christ*, 86–121.

into their narrative and rhetorical functions.³⁰ He concludes that the quotations provide readers with knowledge of Jesus' identity that the characters in the story do not have.³¹ Such knowledge includes God's presence in Jesus, Israel's rejection of him, and the opening to the Gentiles.³² This is first accomplished in the prologue where the quotations are densely packed, then further accomplished by Jesus himself in the larger blocks of narrative void of the quotations.³³ Rhetorically they comment on Jesus' life and deeds, and inform readers of the continuing significance of the story.³⁴

Ecclesiology

Some scholars have also examined the ecclesiological intent behind the quotations. The common conclusion of these studies is that the quotations served to validate the Matthean community's existence because their story of origins—the Jesus story—accords with the Scriptures. As such, the quotations have been seen as the battle ground between Matthew's church and Judaism over to whom the Scriptures belong, and which is the true people of God.

Hubert Frankemölle understands the formula-quotations in the context of Matthew's view of salvation-history.³⁵ The quotations serve as part of Matthew's bridge from the history of Israel into NT history. Matthew is eager to describe the present situation of his community in terms of the fulfillment of past promises to Israel: they are fulfilled in Jesus, and the life of Jesus vindicates God's faithfulness. The quotations themselves, however, are not concerned primarily with the life of Jesus per se; instead they look back to his life as a day of salvation-history from the vantage point of the community, and create the bridge from OT promises to the church as the new covenant people. Thus Frankemölle writes, "Die 'Schriften' . . . sind in Christus und seiner Gemeinde, d. h. in der ntl Geschichte in Erfüllung gegangen."³⁶ The church has, thereby,

30 Jean Miler, *Les citations d'accomplissement dans l'Évangile de Matthieu: Quand Dieu se rend présent en toute humanité* (AnBib 140; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1999). Miler does not, however, examine Matt 2:5–6; 3:3; 13:14 because these formulae are not fulfillment-quotations; they do not use a form of πληρόω.

31 Ibid., 292–317.

32 Ibid., 330–49.

33 Ibid., 306–17.

34 Ibid., *inter alia* 353–57.

35 Hubert Frankemölle, *Jahwebund und Kirche Christi: Studien zur Form- und Traditionsgeschichte des "Evangeliums" nach Matthäus* (NTAbh 10; Münster: Aschendorff, 1974), 384–94.

36 Ibid., 390. He goes on: "Alle urchristlichen Gemeinden lebten in der Überzeugung, daß sich in der Geschichte Jesu und in ihrer eigenen die Verheißungen des AT erfüllt haben und das AT damit an ein von Gott gewolltes Ende gekommen ist" (ibid., 391).

come to take Israel's place in God's foreordained plan.³⁷ Given this continuity in God's plan, therefore, Matthew's church can have confidence in God's dealings with them in the future because of the way he has been faithful to his word in the past.³⁸

Understandably, as Matthew's community began to propagate such a view of history they were met with resistance. Frankemölle sees the church already standing outside of Judaism and fighting for the heritage of Israel.³⁹ Ulrich Luz also sees in Matthew a community that has already broken with Judaism and in quoting the OT is fighting for exclusive ideological ownership of the heritage, legacy, traditions and inheritance of Israel.⁴⁰ As such, the quotations contain "no special content" but emphasize Matthew's basic theological themes, one of them being the movement of the gospel from Israel to the Gentiles.⁴¹ Therefore, as Matthew's community painfully separated from Judaism, they did so "with a claim to Israel's Bible."⁴²

Agreeing for the most part, Andrew J. Overman sees the struggle of Matthew's community as an in-house debate within Judaism, however. Within that context, then, the quotations comprise the community's attempt to show other Jews that their beliefs and behaviors are neither new, innovative, misguided, erroneous, nor repudiating Israel's past. Thus, to Overman the quotations legitimize the community's existence, beliefs, and behaviors inside its Jewish context.⁴³

Similarly, Alexander Sand perceives a legitimizing and validating function in the quotations. He follows, however, those scholars who contend that the quotations' origins are outwardly focused, originating in the church's earliest missionary activities. He posits that the quotations, in part, served to help validate the ministry of prophets around Syria insofar as they were carrying forward Jesus' prophetic work.⁴⁴

Finally, Richard E. Menninger, more than merely seeing a legitimating function to the quotes, takes the thesis a step further. He contends that the origin

37 Ibid., 305, 358.

38 Ibid., 358, 387.

39 Ibid., 305–306.

40 Luz, *Theology*, 40.

41 Luz, *Matthew*, 1:130.

42 Ibid. Nonetheless, though the quotations inherently have ecclesiological ramifications, Luz agrees with those mentioned above that the christological concerns are primary (ibid., 1:130–31; idem, *Theology*, 39).

43 Andrew J. Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism: The Social World of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 74–78.

44 Alexander Sand, *Das Gesetz und die Propheten: Untersuchungen zur Theologie des Evangeliums nach Matthäus* (BU 11; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1974), 151–56, 168–77.

and redaction of the quotes (as well as the special formula) demonstrate the author's intent to provide an already-believing community with leverage in their debate with Judaism.⁴⁵ They could now claim the title of the "true Israel" because Jesus "fulfilled God's promises to Israel."⁴⁶

Lacunae

The formula-quotations have been consistently treated as *the* entry point for considering Matthew's text-form, the sources of Matthew's other OT quotations and allusions, and Matthew's theological agenda.⁴⁷ In sum, these studies have yielded valuable insights into Matthew's Christology and vision of redemptive-history.⁴⁸ However that may be, the aggregate results of these studies seem to be asymmetrical. There appears to be a tacit agreement that Matthew's use of the OT, most explicit in his formula-quotations, is primarily and nearly exclusively meant to support his Christology.⁴⁹ Yet despite the great deal of attention paid to Matthew's use of the OT, not all the data can be explained in christological terms. Christology alone does not seem to be a sufficiently broad enough category. A few of the quotes were not recognized in the first century to be messianic, nor did they come from original contexts with messianic significance. In the prologue itself it is unclear how Hos 11:1 and Jer 31:15 serve a christological agenda per se.⁵⁰ There seems to be another

45 Richard E. Menninger, *Israel and the Church in the Gospel of Matthew* (AUS 7/162; New York: Peter Lang, 1994), 65–81, 96 n. 54.

46 Ibid., 71–74; cf. also 77–81.

47 Senior believes, however, that disproportionate attention has been given to the quotations; so much so that he has called them "something of a 'siren song'" ("Lure," 90). He contends that the formula-quotations are no more illuminative of Matthew's Christology and theology of fulfillment than other OT references not introduced with a formula (ibid., 108, 115). This may well be so. But from a narrative critical perspective they still stand out and, as the narrator's intrusive commentary, cast a hermeneutical light not only over the pericopae in which they are situated but also over the entire gospel. Senior's critique also begs the question as to whether Christology and "fulfillment" are the full extent of the quotations' function.

48 While not primarily focused on the formula-quotations, Joel Kennedy's *The Recapitulation of Israel: Use of Israel's History in Matthew 1:1–4:11* (WUNT 2/257; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008) is also worth mentioning for the special attention it gives to Christology in examining Matthew's use of (primarily) the exodus tradition.

49 Senior has also seen this as the predominant scholarly concern, whereas the quotation's ecclesiological contents are regularly described in terms of the Matthean community's social situation, not a conscious theology emerging from the quotes per se ("Lure," 103).

50 Davies and Allison say the same of Isa 7:14 (*Matthew*, 1:213); Craig S. Keener of those in Matt 1:18–2:23 "while ignoring obvious messianic texts" (*The Gospel of Matthew*:

function, broader than yet encompassing christological concerns, for the formula-quotations.

To be sure, some have seen an ecclesiological significance in the quotations, *but only in their usage, not their content*. To broadly summarize the scholarship to date, the quotations function to validate and vindicate the Matthean community's existence and to legitimize their beliefs. To accomplish that, however, Matthew could have used *any* OT texts. Those who have focused on Matthew's ecclesiology have investigated less *what* Matthew quoted and have examined more or less the ecclesiological impact of having quoted *anything* from the OT.⁵¹ Their theories would equally stand had Matthew used entirely different passages, so long as they were still OT passages. What do *these* particular texts accomplish? The actual ecclesiological *content*, not just the ecclesiological usage, of these quotations has been overlooked.

The question also remains as to what *effect* the content of these specific texts likely had on Matthew's first audience.⁵² Do they traditionalize and legitimize the rest of Matthew's ecclesiological vision, or do they themselves, in what they affirm, *contribute* to Matthew's ecclesiological vision? If Overman is correct that "the figure of Jesus and therefore the beliefs of the Matthean community about Jesus are the fulfillment of God's foreordained plan," and therefore "[the] life of the Matthean community is in continuity with the Scripture, promises, and traditions of the history of Israel"⁵³ then it remains to be investigated *what specific promises and traditions Matthew is claiming* on behalf of his community through these specific texts.

Finally, scholars have also wondered over the quotations' dense concentration in the prologue.⁵⁴ Seven formula-quotations are found in the first four

A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009; repr. of *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, 1999], 82). See also Gundry, *Use*, 194–95; Richard N. Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 124.

51 While Menninger pays more attention to the quotations' content than most, he nonetheless gives the bulk of his energy to the uniqueness of the formula and the source of the quotes (*Israel*, 65–72). When he does turn to the quotations' contents, most is subsumed under the larger category of Matthean typology (*ibid.*, 74–81). But one page is given to one formula-quotation *qua* a formula-quotation, Isa 7:14 in Matt 1:23 (*ibid.*, 73–74).

52 After a brief *Forschungsgeschichte* Beaton writes, "These studies, although stimulating, do not fully probe the rhetorical force of Matthew's usage" (*Isaiah's Christ*, 32).

53 Overman, *Matthew's Gospel*, 78.

54 Senior repeatedly comments that despite the various attempts to address this question answers remain unsatisfactory ("Lure," 93–94, 97, 102–103). Menken's more recent work goes far to explain why the quotations appear in summary passages and at the end of narrative threads, but does not demonstrate why the gospel is so front-loaded with them

chapters,⁵⁵ compared to only six in the entire remaining twenty-four chapters.⁵⁶ What effect does this uneven distribution have on the narrative? Luz is commonly cited in this regard. He says:

In the prologue Matthew sets up a “light” for his readers with his rapid sequence of fulfillment quotations. The fulfillment quotations scattered throughout the rest of the Gospel are then reminders of this light. The narrative method of repetition is especially effective here.⁵⁷

Well, what is that “light?” Of what are the subsequent quotations “reminders?” How is this “narrative method” effective? He does not say; nor do the scholars who commonly cite him. Jeffery L. Capshaw calls the prologue-quotations “‘high-lighters’ or markers of prominence [that] highlight selected events, participants, and themes.”⁵⁸ Again, he does not explore what those events, participants, and themes are, nor what prominent role they play. Why are they so densely packed into the prologue, and what is the effect?

Thesis and Goals

A new theory for understanding the quotations is needed. In this work I start with the question regarding—to use Luz’s word—the “light” established in the prologue. How are the prologue-quotations a light? What are they a light of? What do they illuminate? I contend that they are intrusive commentaries, provided by a narrator, concerned with the covenantal state of Israel, and by their position affect the way the rest of the narrative is read. They select a frame for reading Matthew’s entire narrative in terms of the OT subplot that they individually and collectively evoke: the exile and hope of restoration through the final Davidide.

(“Messianic Interpretation,” 481–86). Luz simply says “the concentration in the prologue is conspicuous” (*Matthew*, 1:125).

55 Isa 7:14 in Matt 1:22–23; Mic 5:1 [EB 5:2] in Matt 2:5–6; Hos 11:1 in Matt 2:15; Jer 31:15 [LXX 38:15] in Matt 2:17–18; a quotation of uncertain provenance in Matt 2:23; Isa 40:3 in Matt 3:3; Isa 8:23–9:1 [EB 9:1–2] in Matt 4:14–16.

56 Isa 54:3 in Matt 8:17; Isa 42:1–4 in Matt 12:17–21; Isa 6:9–10 in Matt 13:14–15; Ps 78:2 in Matt 13:35; Zech 9:9 [perhaps together with Isa 62:11] in Matt 21:4–5; Zech 11:11–12 [perhaps together with Jer 18–19; 32] in Matt 27:9–10.

57 Luz, *Matthew*, 1:130.

58 Jeffery L. Capshaw, *A Textlinguistic Analysis of Selected Old Testament Texts in Matthew 1–4* (StBL 62; New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 91.

When the seven prologue-quotations are taken together, they form a constellation of texts that evokes the same story from Israel's history: exile and restoration. Each text does this independently, but more forcefully in symphony with each other. Their function is to select frames that repeatedly evoke the same narrative world in audiences' minds, and create associations between that narrative world and the story Matthew is beginning to tell. By evoking the images of exile and restoration (as a second exodus) Matthew introduces his *dramatis personae* in startling terms: a newly defined people of God (Matt 1:1, 21; 2:6, 10–11, 15; 3:8–9, 17; 4:3, 6, 4:16) is about to be restored by the last David (1:21–23; 2:2; 3:2–3; 4:12–17) while Israel's oppressors (2:3–4, 13, 16–18, 3:7–10) are about to face an aggravated exile if their rebellion persists (3:7, 10–12).⁵⁹

Scholars seem to be in agreement that the prologue is thematic for the rest of the gospel.⁶⁰ It seems urgent, therefore, to investigate the effect these evoked images have on the rest of the narrative. I contend that the prologue-quotations select a «David/end-of-exile» frame and in so doing become a hermeneutical guide for the rest of the gospel. Their repetition early in the gospel and close proximity to one another have the aggregate effect of powerfully selecting this frame, thus giving clear orientation and definition to the rest of the story. Matthew's gospel, in turn, becomes a treatise on the effect the (still-operable) exile and (David-led) restoration have on the identity of Israel.

59 Commenting on each citation individually, Craig L. Blomberg has also noted the exile in the original context of each quotation ("Matthew," in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* [eds. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007], 3–19). So too Mervyn Eloff, "From the Exile to the Christ: Exile, Restoration and the Interpretation of Matthew's Gospel" (PhD diss., The University of Stellenbosch, 2002), 5–56.

60 Edgar Krentz calls the prologue "the Matthean 'preunderstanding' of Jesus necessary for the reader properly to evaluate Jesus' words and actions in his ministry, death, and resurrection" ("The Extent of Matthew's Prologue: Toward the Structure of the First Gospel," *JBL* 83 [1964]: 410). J. M. Gibbs calls the entire prologue a *précis* and a table of contents to the rest of the gospel ("Mark 1, 1–15, Matthew 1, 1–4, 16, Luke 1, 1–4, 30, John 1, 1–51: The Gospel Prologues and their Function," in *Studia Evangelica Vol. 6: Papers Presented to the Fourth International Congress on New Testament Studies Held at Oxford, 1969* [ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone; TUGAL 112; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973], 154–88). David R. Bauer says Matt 1:1–4:16 "prepares the reader for all that follows" (*The Structure of Matthew's Gospel* [JSNTSup 31; Sheffield: Almond, 1989], 84). Luz too says that "the first chapters play an especially important role, since they prepare the readers for what is to come" (*Matthew*, 1:71). David D. Kupp even calls Matthew 1–2 "indispensable" without which the rest of the story cannot be understood (*Matthew's Emmanuel: Divine Presence and God's People in the First Gospel* [SNTSMS 90; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996], 50–51).

From the very beginning, Matthew sets his narrative as though Israel is, despite their residency in the land (the ten northern tribes of course notwithstanding), in a state of exile. In that context these quotations share a common concern for when Yahweh will bring Israel out of exile. Naturally, it is the Messiah's calling to lead this restoration. It is no surprise, therefore, that scholars have seen a significant messianic emphasis in the quotations. The return from exile, however, is primarily an ecclesiological concern: the return of the community of Yahweh's people, the restoration of an identifiable *group*. It is not unexpected, therefore, that Matthew's quotations would be concerned with not only the Messiah who leads the peoples, but also with the people themselves. I take the position that the quotations do not purport a Christology that serves as an end to itself, but a Christology with an ecclesiological defining purpose. It is a Christology with an ecclesiological focus through the lens of exile and restoration. The struggle, then, is not simply over whom the Christ is or whether Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ, but also over whom the ongoing people of God are and what time it is on the redemptive-historical calendar. This is Christology as a means to an end: to bring the church to understand themselves as Yahweh's return-from-exile people. Thus, I contend that a mere christological reading of the quotations is slightly myopic. The christological concern of the quotations should be seen as a part of a broader theological landscape of images drawn from the narrative world of Israel's hopes for restoration from exile. The Christology of the quotations needs to be understood within this broader theological landscape as the heir to David's eternal throne identifies and reconstitutes Israel, and judges their enemies.

Matthew's Theology of Exile and Restoration in Recent Scholarship

A few studies have been produced concerning the influence of the exile on Matthew's gospel. N. T. Wright proposes that the statement "he will save his people from their sins" in Matt 1:21 is programmatic whereby the rest of the gospel is the story of how Jesus fulfills this vocation.⁶¹ To Wright, "Matthew's plot and structure presuppose the entire Jewish story-line to date," for needing salvation from sins presupposes the backstory of exile.⁶² Matthew's gospel, then, with its various levels of conflict, is a topical story fitting into and embodying a larger initial story (a wider framework): the mission of Israel's God to bless the world through Israel by bringing them out of exile. Wright

61 N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (vol. 1 of *Christian Origins and the Question of God*; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 385–86.

62 *Ibid.*, 388.

comments that “Matthew’s story . . . is structured so as to bring out this entire theme.”⁶³

Blaine Charette argues that the covenantal promise of the land made to Abraham and lost in the exile is *the* background for the themes of reward and punishment that run throughout Matthew’s gospel.⁶⁴ To Charette, Matthew’s Jesus ends the spiritual exile of Israel and promises the eschatological kingdom as the land-reward for “returnees,” whereas the present state of exile will persist for those who reject Jesus.

Young S. Chae contends that Matthew has a conscious awareness of the eschatological Davidic Shepherd tradition and makes use of it throughout the narrative.⁶⁵ Insofar as the Davidic Shepherd is Yahweh’s agent to bring the exile to an end and restore Israel in Micah 2–5, Ezekiel 34–37 and Zechariah 9–14, Chae sees Matthew’s story as one of Israel’s restoration from exile.

As valuable as these recent studies have been, none have given due attention to Matthew’s formula-quotations.⁶⁶ The quotations provide important

63 Ibid.

64 Blaine Charette, *The Theme of Recompense in Matthew’s Gospel* (JSNTSup 79; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1992).

65 Young S. Chae, *Jesus as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd: Studies in the Old Testament, Second Temple Judaism, and in the Gospel of Matthew* (WUNT 2/216; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006). Chae finds direct quotations from the tradition at the beginning and end of the narrative (2:6; 26:31), and allusions and echoes throughout (7:15; 9:10–13, 27, 36; 10:6, 16; 12:11–12, 23; 15:22, 24; 18:10–14; 20:30–31; 21:14; 27:51b–53; 28:16–20).

66 A few other studies are also worth mentioning. Adrian M. Leske argues that Matthew has a holistic understanding of Isaiah’s Servant as the one who will end the exile, and uses it forcefully (“The Influence of Isaiah 40–66 on Christology in Matthew and Luke: A Comparison,” in *Society of Biblical Literature 1994 Seminar Papers* [ed. Eugene H. Lovering Jr.; SBLSP 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994], 897–916). The Matthean texts examined in this study are chs. 1–2; 1:21; 3:16; 8:17; 11:2–6, 25–30; 12:15–21; 16:13–23; 20:28; 26:28. Kennedy agrees that the genealogy in particular teaches that exilic conditions continue (*Recapitulation*, 76–79, 97–102, 108; see also Jason B. Hood, *The Messiah, His Brothers, and the Nations* [LNTS 441; London: T&T Clark, 2011], 85, 155–56). Nicholas Perrin contends that in Matthew Israel’s leaders are culpable for the nation’s “state of exile” (*Jesus the Temple* [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2010], 59–60). Nathan Eubank defines exile in Matthew as sin-debt (*Wages of Cross-Bearing and Debt of Sin: The Economy of Heaven in Matthew’s Gospel* [BZNW 196; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2103], 109–21).

Rikki E. Watts demonstrates the influence of Isaiah’s New Exodus theology in Mark (*Isaiah’s New Exodus in Mark* [BSL; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000; repr. from WUNT 2/88; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997]), and David W. Pao does the same in in Luke-Acts (*Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus* [BSL; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002; repr. from WUNT 2/130; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000]). Similarly, Michael E. Fuller considers

theological reflection; if the exile and restoration motif is as prominent as these scholars suggest, it would not be surprising to find the same in the quotations, the narrator's theological commentary. This study will bring together the findings of these Matthean scholars with fresh ecclesiological insights drawn from the formula-quotations.

Relationship between Matthew's Christology and Ecclesiology in Recent Scholarship

Matthew's ecclesiology—often spoken of in terms of his community's situation vis-à-vis formative Judaism—has received a great deal of attention in the past half century.⁶⁷ Many scholars have seen the disciples as a “transparent” representation of his community.⁶⁸ Of specific interest to these scholars are the *ecclesia* sayings and the prominent role Peter plays among the disciples.⁶⁹ As such, the church is a *corpus mixtum*—a community with strengths and weaknesses, with believers and unbelievers.

Despite the attention paid to Matthew's ecclesiology, however, relatively little work has been done on the direct relationship between Christology and ecclesiology in Matthew's gospel. Five scholars, though, do stand out for their work in this area. Charles E. Carlston agrees that the inter-relationship between Christology and the church has been somewhat overlooked.⁷⁰ In his study, he contends that the church's place in redemptive-history is rooted in the redemptive-historical event that was Jesus' life. Any scribes and prophets in the community have an authority that is strictly derivative, and christologically legitimized. Further, the disciples provide the bridge between Jesus and the community, and at the same time serve as “transparent” figures who reflect, in both their strengths and weaknesses, what it means to be a disciple.

Second Temple Jewish texts and Luke-Acts (*The Restoration of Israel: Israel's Re-Gathering and the Fate of the Nations in Early Jewish Literature and Luke-Acts* [BZNW 139; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006]).

- 67 The list of works addressing Matthew's ecclesiology is extensive indeed. Charles E. Carlston provides a long, though still not exhaustive, bibliography (“Christology and Church in Matthew” in *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* [ed. F. van Segbroeck et al.; 3 vols; BETL 100; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992], 1283 n. 1).
- 68 Cf. esp. Günther Bornkamm, “End-Expectation and Church in Matthew,” in *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew* (Günther Bornkamm, Gerhard Barth, and Heinz Joachim Held; trans. Percy Scott; NTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963), 15–24, 38–51.
- 69 Jean Zumstein brings much Matthean scholarship on this issue together (*La condition du croyant dans l'Évangile selon Matthieu* [OBO 16; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977]). See also Luz, *Matthew*, 1:162–63.
- 70 Carlston, “Christology,” 1283–1302.

Moreover, all the attributes of a disciple are laid out in relationship to Jesus. Whatever one thinks of Peter's role among the disciples, it is at least clear that his role in the church is both redemptive-historically and christologically determined.

William L. Kynes shows how "Matthew's understanding of Jesus provides the foundation for his understanding of the church."⁷¹ Jesus embodies the fate of the church, and provides a basis for his followers' status/relationship with God and authority on earth.⁷² "Consequently, the church is defined christologically—its own existence is grounded in Christ."⁷³

Menninger also defines Matthew's ecclesiology in christological terms by arguing that "Jesus' messiahship is the basis for continuity between Israel and the church."⁷⁴ This makes Matthew's community the "remnant," and thus the "true Israel" as evinced by Matthew's use of the OT, including Davidic and Israelite typology, christological titles (Messiah, King of the Jews, Son of David), and the law.

Frankemölle argues that the OT concept of the covenant bond between Yahweh and his people is the central motif for understanding the church's relationship to Jesus.⁷⁵ Referring especially to Deuteronomy and the Chronicles, Frankemölle sees important covenantal language in Matthew's use of such terms as "with us," "with you," "with me," "sons," "people" and "*ekklēsia*." Thus, Matthew has a "covenant ecclesiology" that solves the theological problem of God's fidelity to Israel.

Matthias Konradt contends that as the Son of David Jesus' ministry is unwaveringly focused on Israel.⁷⁶ As such it also necessarily has a universal dimension, which is more clearly disclosed as the narrative progresses and Jesus is publicly revealed as the Son of God in the cross, resurrection and exultation.⁷⁷ These two *christologoumena*—Son of David and Son of God—correlate, then, to the two horizons of the one soteriological mission.⁷⁸ Therefore, "the ecclesia is the part of Israel (and of the rest of the world) that has recognized the Christ

71 William L. Kynes, *A Christology of Solidarity: Jesus as the Representative of His People in Matthew* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1991), 2.

72 Ibid., *inter alia* 194–99.

73 Ibid., *inter alia* 194.

74 Menninger, *Israel*, 63–64 et passim.

75 See pp. 8–9 above.

76 Matthias Konradt, *Israel, Church, and the Gentiles in the Gospel of Matthew* (trans. Kathleen Ess; BMSSE; Waco: Baylor University Press, 2014), 17–87.

77 Ibid., 265–307.

78 Ibid., 307–25.

event (in the comprehensive sense of the Matthean Jesus story) as the eschatological salvific act of Israel's God."⁷⁹

Despite these fine studies and their demonstration of the relationship between Matthew's Christology and ecclesiology, the dynamic between Jesus' role in ending the exile for Israel and the theological consequences for Matthew's community remain unexplored. Further, as mentioned above, the ecclesiological *content* of the formula-quotations has also been overlooked to date.

The goal of this research is, thus, to bring together these three streams of Matthean scholarship. Matthew's formula-quotations have received a great deal of attention; scholars have seen an exile and restoration substructure in Matthew; and scholars have also observed in Matthew a strong ecclesiological self-understanding. Yet those who see the exile and restoration substructure do not say much about what such does for defining Matthew's community, nor identify how the quotations fit into and fill out that substructure. Those who have focused on the quotations have overlooked both their OT contexts insofar as those contexts are consistently Davidic and/or exilic,⁸⁰ and what those contexts mean for Matthew's community. Finally, those who have given attention to Matthew's ecclesiology have overlooked the quotations' role in identifying the community with Jesus in the theological context of the restoration of Israel.⁸¹ I bring these three areas of Matthean scholarship together to harmonize and advance their findings.

Method

In this section I lay out working historical assumptions and define important heuristic terms for my approach.

79 Ibid., 336. Konradt continues: "Its nucleus is the circle of disciples that Jesus created during his ministry *in Israel* . . . open to people from all nations post-Easter. Its basic missionary dimension indicates that the ecclesia is a dynamic, not a static, entity" (ibid.; italics original).

80 Recently Eubank has made the passing comment, "This is either an extraordinarily remarkable seven-fold coincidence or a deliberate attempt to evoke, not only the words explicitly cited, but the oracles and narratives of which they are a part" (*Wages*, 111).

81 Wright does make an interesting comment in passing that the "fulfilment" passages are meant to bring out how the church is "the true descendants of Abraham" coming out of exile (*New Testament*, 388).

The World behind the Text

The first-century Jewish author “Matthew” did not create his text *ex nihilo*.⁸² Nor did he tell a novel story. He was bound by the memory of the historical Jesus as well as, relatedly, dominant oral traditions and quite possibly Mark and Q.⁸³ While I am less certain than others regarding the date of writing, I at least place Matthew in the second half of the first-century.⁸⁴ Moreover, it seems clear to me that the first audience had at least some biblically literate Jews among them.⁸⁵ Their worldview would, therefore, have been greatly shaped by the proto-MT and LXX traditions as well as noncanonical Jewish literature.⁸⁶

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- 82 The debate over whether Matthew was a Jew or a Gentile is a long one, as is the discussion over his community’s composition. I line up with most in seeing Matthew as a Jewish-Christian writing for a mixed—though predominantly Jewish—already-believing community. See summaries in Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:17–32; France, *Evangelist*, 70–73, 102–108; Luz, *Theology*, 11–13.
- 83 See summaries in Luz, *Theology*, 6–10, 17–19; James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (vol. 1 of *Christianity in the Making*; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 173–254.
- 84 Even Luz, who works with very clearly defined conclusions about the historical situation (see *Matthew*, 1:45–59), concedes that “apart from the destruction of Jerusalem (22:7) there are no known references to contemporary events” (*Theology*, 15). Warren Carter also puts a lot of stock in 22:7 as the decisive evidence for a post-70 CE date (*Matthew and the Margins: A Socio-Political and Religious Reading* [JSNTSup 204; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000], 1, 16–17, 41). But even that datum is not incontrovertible. While 22:7 seems to reflect a context after the destruction of the Jerusalem temple, texts like 5:23–24, 17:24 and 23:16–22 seem pointless after 70 CE. Craig A. Evans makes a very good point that Matt 22:7 “may be nothing more than biblical language” (*Matthew* [NCBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012], 4). Cf. 2 Kgs 25:9; 2 Chr 36:19; Neh 1:3; 2:3, 13, 17; 4:2; esp. Isa 64:11; Jer 21:10; 32:29; 34:2. Indeed, scholars are already well aware of Matthew’s proclivity for OT allusions. The pre-70 CE dating is supported by “a weighty minority” (Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:128; full discussion on pp. 127–38) to which is now added France (*Evangelist*, 82–91; *Matthew*, 18–19), John Nolland (*The Gospel of Matthew* [NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005], 14–17) and Evans (*Matthew*, 4–5).
- 85 See n. 3 above. It is possible that they lived in Syria, maybe even in Antioch. So most scholars (cf. summaries in France, *Evangelist*, 92–93; Luz, *Theology*, 18; Davies and Allison [*Matthew*, 1:138–47] summarize dissenting theories). But whether the first Jewish war drove them there or not is still an open question. The Acts of the Apostles as well as Paul’s ministry testify to the spread of Christianity to Antioch—and that in tension with the synagogue/other Jews—before 70 CE. To be sure, “There are no sure answers to these questions” (Luz, *Theology*, 18).
- 86 Along with many scholars, I understand Matthew to have used some continuous form of the MT (see n. 14 above as well as the appendix). Nonetheless, in the body of this work I comment on interpretive possibilities had Matthew indeed leaned on an LXX tradition. At the least, and more importantly for this work, it is most likely that the Matthean

As of late this community was also being reshaped by certain stories about, and logia attributed to, the historical Jesus and risen Christ.⁸⁷ This is the nexus—between the Jewish biblical worldview and the Jesus tradition—where the historical author is weighing in. It is “the existential situation of the author and his Jewish-Christian community.”⁸⁸ The final product is a codification of the oral tradition thoroughly structured along OT axes. It was this reworking of the OT ideal, and all its implications, that caused friction with other Jews.⁸⁹ With this general historical outline of the community, I believe that the reading I offer can be appropriated by scholars who date Matthew either before or after the definitive events of 66–70 CE.⁹⁰

community was comprised of persons with worldviews honed on either or both text-forms. It seems reasonable to me, therefore, to think of the community *en masse* as one body whose ideological make-up can simply be termed “Jewish.” This would include Gentiles among them who have adopted some form of Jewish identity, not the least of which is evinced by their belief in the Jewish Messiah.

- 87 The question of whether Matthew should be understood as a Markan redaction is certainly an important one. It is, however, one that I do not think I have to answer definitively because the primary focus of this study is on Matthew’s unique prologue. So while this work will not treat Matthew as a Markan redaction *per se*, it nonetheless recognizes Mark as a crucial part of the cultural encyclopedia, at least as a witness to the oral tradition. For a review of the Synoptic Problem as it specifically relates to Matthew see Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:97–127; France, *Evangelist*, 24–46. In my mind France’s view is a balanced affirmation of the “two-source hypothesis” that does not reduce Matthew to a mere Markan redaction (*Matthew*, 20–22).
- 88 France, *Matthew*, 17. To be sure, Matthew and his Jewish audience lived under the dominion of the Roman empire. While this is an important point to consider, the gospel itself is not so transparent in regard to how the author felt about Rome. The least I can say on this matter is that Matthew looks more consistently to the OT and to the Jesus tradition for meaning making than he does to the imperial world around him (*pace* Carter, *Margins*, 36–43).
- 89 Again in line with much Matthean scholarship, it is easiest to imagine that a breach between the synagogue and the Matthean community has recently occurred (see Luz, *Theology*, 14–15, 18–19). But see also France who doubts the value of the *intra/extra muros* debate and merely “locates the gospel in a period of uncomfortable tension” (*Evangelist*, 98–102; *Matthew*, 16–18; quote from p. 17).
- 90 To be sure, the date of writing is very important. The destruction of the temple could have done nothing less than cause Jews everywhere (Christian or not) to entirely reevaluate the sovereign Lord’s actions in history and how they understood themselves under the banner thereof. If that destruction had happened by the time Matthew wrote, then the gospel should be read in a certain way. But if it had *not*, then Matthew should be read in a totally different way. It seems important to me, therefore, that since we do not *know*

Of Authors, Texts and Readers

But how do twenty-first century students access that author and his community? The simple answer is through the text. But is it not true that readers often exert power over texts by forcing their interpretations onto them? Indeed. And if so, the historical enterprise is lost as twenty-first-century concerns rub out the text's witness to the past. It is equally true, however, that the same exertion of power is seen when readers drag a text in a plethora of indeterminate directions. In such a case the historical value of the investigation again vanishes. So, is historical knowledge of the author and his church really accessible through the text? Can literary knowledge yield historical knowledge? I believe the answer is yes. To begin, literary knowledge is possible when the intellectual property of other human beings is respected and the interpreter "lets the text have its way."⁹¹ A text is an author's speech-act whereby he/she is extended, quite personally, to recipients. It is, therefore, something an author publicly *does*.⁹² And the goal is to effect a response. For this work the author is Matthew and the readers are his community. Thus, we are eavesdropping on a very old conversation. A sufficiently thick reading—one that respects the original writer and original recipients in their unique cultural moment—would then have to account for the author, the text and the readers in history. This work is, therefore, provisional from the start. The moment of that author-text-reader interaction on which I focus the most is the text and then briefly, after the text has been sufficiently explored on its own terms, first-century readers. The ideological agenda I bring for my part—as I too am a reader—is the goal of presenting a reading of Matthew that is helpful on two fronts: exploring how the narrative could have shaped a first-century readership's worldview and, derivatively, speak into the twenty-first century. To that end, socio-rhetorical criticism provides a methodological rationale.

the date, an interpretation should be open to both circumstances if it is to be historically helpful.

91 As Kevin J. Vanhoozer asks, "Can we read in such a way as to avoid seeing ourselves—that is, those images that we project—in the mirror of the text?" (*Is There a Meaning in This Text?: The Bible, the Reader, and the Morality of Literary Knowledge* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1998], 22). Perhaps not absolutely. But an honest attempt *can* be made. And Vanhoozer himself concludes, and convincingly argues, that "literary knowledge—knowledge not only about the text but of what the text is about—is indeed possible" (*ibid.*, 23; cf. also 281–366).

92 *Ibid.*, 5–6, 201–80.

Socio-Rhetorical Textures

"Socio-rhetorical criticism recognizes that texts play an active role in their environment."⁹³ In such considerations, socio-rhetorical critics use the methodological metaphor of "texts as fabrics."⁹⁴ And within any fabric are different textures worth exploring, "the interweaving of a manuscript's words with their social, cultural and ideological signification."⁹⁵ No one, however, can explore (with skill) every texture, but can bring their discoveries to the scholarly co-op.⁹⁶ I will, therefore, limit my investigation to three textures that Matthew's gospel particularly seems to sew together.⁹⁷

First, Matthew's "inner texture" consists of its narrative world, and thus calls for a narrative critical reading, where Matthew is treated as a single, unified, and whole piece.⁹⁸ Here the primary locus of meaning is *in the text* as it is read from the perspective which the narrative itself expects, giving due attention to the narrative rhetoric which guides the reader in interpretation.⁹⁹ Of particular interest will be identifying the frames the narrative selects and the "*Weltanschauung* transparently expressed by the whole linguistic strategy of the book" which can be discerned by the competent reader.¹⁰⁰ Discourse

93 Dean, "Textured Criticism," 79. She goes on: "It challenges the interpreter to imagine, on the basis of textual evidence, the social arrangements that may have obtained in a text's compositional context, as well as the impact a text may have had on those arrangements" (ibid.).

94 Cf. n. 6 above.

95 Dean, "Textured Criticism," 80.

96 See esp. Robbins, *Exploring*, 2–6; deSilva, "Hebrews 6," 33–36.

97 Socio-rhetorical "textures" come primarily from Vernon K. Robbins, *Exploring*; idem, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse: Rhetoric, Society and Ideology* (London: Routledge, 1996).

98 In addition to Eco's works (see below), narrative critical terms used throughout this work come primarily from Mark Allan Powell, *What is Narrative Criticism?* (GBS; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990) and James L. Resseguie, *Narrative Criticism of the New Testament: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005). As Culpepper says, the heuristic terms of such narrative critics "enlarge the territory of the inner texture of a text to include the entire range of features of the world within the text (the narrator, plot, characters, settings, and other aspects of the narratives or discourse)" ("Mapping," 72–73).

99 I agree with Ross Wagner when he says exegetes "must constantly attend to a close reading of [texts themselves]; to do otherwise would be to destroy the beauty, strength, and coherence of the intricate interpretive tapestry" (*Heralds of Good News: Isaiah and Paul in Concert in the Letter to the Romans* [Leiden: Brill, 2003], 19).

100 See Eco, *Role*, 20–23; quote from p. 23.

analysis will help in this task by illuminating the text's cohesion and meaning "above the sentence level."¹⁰¹

Second, Matthew's "intertexture" will also be examined, particularly the "oral-scribal intertexture" which consists mainly of the employment of OT quotations. For Matthew this intertexture is vital because the OT quotes contribute so explicitly to Matthew's own narrative world. Special attention will be given to the prologue-quotations for the interpretive light they cast over the rest of the narrative, seeing that they uniquely contribute to the selection of frames and thereby direct the reader in interpretation. They are particularly effective to this end in serving as the narrator's commentary which interrupts the flow of the discourse.¹⁰² Moreover, because the quotations are voluminous early in the narrative, they work overtime in guiding the reader in identifying and discerning symbolism throughout the rest of the story.

Finally attention will be given to the "ideological texture" which examines the capacity of a text to participate in social and cultural developments in the historical world, and helps a community "to position themselves in relation to other individuals and groups."¹⁰³ As Vernon K. Robbins says:

This means that analysis of the ideological texture of a text exists at the opposite end of the spectrum from analysis of the inner texture of a text. Inner texture concerns the words, phrases, and clauses of the text itself;

101 Seymour Chatman calls a narrative "story-as-discoursed" (*Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978], 15–42). J. P. Louw says, "The arrangement of the selected material becomes a vital factor as soon as a number of utterances are linked together. These have to be ordered and articulated because any sensible string in communication is selective. This is especially true in the case of written material. . . . The way or the manner . . . in which a notion is communicated, is the heart of its effectiveness" ("Discourse Analysis and the Greek New Testament," *BT* 24 [1973]: 101).

102 Others have also spoken of the way formula-quotations halt, interrupt and intrude upon/obtrude from narratives (Powell, *Narrative Criticism*, 25–26; Menninger, *Israel*, 67; Kupp, *Matthew's Emmanuel*, 56, 163; Jack Dean Kingsbury, "The Birth Narrative of Matthew," in *The Gospel of Matthew in Current Study: Studies in Memory of William G. Thompson*, S.J. [ed. David E. Aune; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001], 159; Jamie Clark-Soles, *Scripture Cannot Be Broken: The Social Function of the Use of Scripture in the Fourth Gospel* [Boston: Brill Academic, 2003], 219–20; France, *Matthew*, 54, 58).

103 Robbins, *Exploring*, 4, cf. also 95–96. As deSilva puts it, this method takes seriously "the understanding that texts speak within contexts" ("Hebrews 6," 35–36). Thus, "[a]s one discovers the contexts within which the texts was written and read, and adds these dimensions to the reading of the text, the closer one approaches the full meaning and impact of the text within a particular setting (in the exegetical enterprise, usually the setting of the first hearers and readers)" (*ibid.*, 36).

ideological texture concerns the biases, opinions, preferences, and stereotypes of a particular writer and a particular reader.¹⁰⁴

The particular reader I have in view is the Matthean community and what the language of their new Jesus-story provided in situating themselves and others in the world.¹⁰⁵ Thus, it seems logical to move in this particular direction: the greatest attention is spent exploring the “inner texture,” which calls for careful attention to the “intertexture,” before I attempt to say anything about the “ideological texture.”¹⁰⁶ These, then, are the aspects of the text that I “decide to work especially energetically on.”¹⁰⁷

Texts Select Frames for the Model Reader

One of the exciting components of socio-rhetorical criticism is its willingness to “explore methodological approaches to interpreting a text drawn from disciplines other than ‘religion.’”¹⁰⁸ In focusing on the inner texture, I turn to Eco’s heuristic terms, the “Model Reader” and the “cultural encyclopedia.”¹⁰⁹ Authors depend on an indeterminate set of assumptions shared with audiences. The most basic of these is language. Yet beyond that, authors rely on, what Eco calls, a shared “cultural encyclopedia,” the theoretical storehouse of a society’s knowledge—be it historical, literary (real or fictitious), social,

104 Robbins, *Exploring*, 95.

105 To be sure, this is only part of the practice that Robbins and others understand as ideological analysis. To them it also involves an interface between the author’s and *the interpreter’s* ideologies (as well as between several interpreters; see *Exploring*, 2, 95; deSilva, “Hebrews 6,” 37). Space, however, limits significant analysis on this level. Only a few comments will be made in this regard at the end.

106 This is a common direction in which to move (Robbins, *Exploring*, 5; Dean “Textured Criticism,” 82, 86). Yet, my socio-rhetorical investigation differs a bit from the convention. Typically several textures are explored that on the face of it have little, if anything, to do with each other. This is what makes socio-rhetorical criticism so stimulating; it can find those otherwise unobserved connections (Robbins, *Exploring*, 2). My approach to Matthew, however, is carried out as one texture *invites* the exploration of the next: the oral-scribal intertexture is *part of* the inner texture (so too Culpepper, “Mapping,” 73–74; cf. also Robbins, *Tapestry*, 92), both of which participate powerfully in the *resultant* ideological texture.

107 Robbins, *Exploring*, 2.

108 DeSilva, “Hebrews 6,” 33.

109 In adopting Eco’s heuristic terms I make no comment on his full theory of semiotics. I only employ his approach to a specific field of semiotics: how to read/interpret texts written during generations past.

religious, economic, etc.¹¹⁰ As audiences interpret texts they refer (implicitly or intentionally) to the cultural encyclopedia to decode that which the author has coded in the text. “The author has thus to foresee a model of the possible reader . . . supposedly able to deal interpretively with the expressions in the same way as the author deals with them generatively.”¹¹¹ Texts themselves select such readers through their use of language, style and content.¹¹² This foreseen possible reader is Eco’s “Model Reader” whose profile can only be determined by the text itself, yet who has access to the shared historical cultural encyclopedia to the end of competent interpretation. So while the essential qualities and abilities of the Model Reader are textually determined, such a reader approaches the text with “a specific encyclopedic competence.”¹¹³ Thus, while the Model Reader is a textual strategy for interpretation, the recourse to the “cultural encyclopedia” grounds the twenty-first century exegete in what can be known of a particular society and “is therefore relentlessly historical.”¹¹⁴

Moreover, texts commonly select frames that supply readers with expectations.¹¹⁵ Frames are conventions in the cultural encyclopedia—derived

110 See Umberto Eco, *Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language* (ASem; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 68–84. Leroy A. Huizenga’s summary is also very illuminative (*The New Isaac: Tradition and Interpretation in the Gospel of Matthew* [NovTSup 131: Leiden: Brill, 2009], 24–29).

111 Eco, *Role*, 7.

112 Ibid. Eco even calls the Model Reader “the textual strategy as a system of instructions aiming at producing a possible reader whose profile is designed by and within the text [and] can be extrapolated from [the text]” (*Limits*, 52).

113 Eco, *Role*, 7.

114 Leroy A. Huizenga, “The Confession of Jesus and the Curses of Peter: A Narrative-Christological Approach to the Text-Critical Problem of Mark 14:62,” *NovT* 53 (2011): 251.

115 Loveday Alexander reminds us how it is common in Greco-Roman literature that “prefaces have a particular role to play in guiding readers’ expectations at the beginning of a text and giving them clues as to what is to come” (“Formal Elements and Genre: Which Greco-Roman Prologues Most Closely Parallel the Lukan Prologues?” in *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel: Luke’s Narrative Claim upon Israel’s Legacy* [ed. David P. Moessner; Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1999], 23). Likewise, David B. Howell states that authors “educate” their readers to read their narratives correctly” in the opening pericopae, and “the initial information about the attitudes, characters, and narrative world which is projected [in the prologue] plays a large part in the process of teaching readers the correct interpretive techniques for reading the text” (*Inclusive Story*, 115). Thus, these early pericopae produce a “primacy effect” where the interpretation of subsequent texts are conditioned by the anterior (Menakem Perry, “Literary Dynamics: How the Order of a Text Creates its Meaning [With an Analysis of Faulkner’s ‘A Rose for Emily’],” *Poetics Today* 1–2 [1979]: 53–58). See Gibbs (“Mark 1,” 154–56) for examples of first century prologues.

from any societal source—commonly employed for interpreting discourse.¹¹⁶ Kenneth Duncan Litwak says:

A “frame” consists of the cues or markers that one uses to indicate to his or her audience the context of an utterance or text and the hints the author or speaker gives the audience for interpreting the statement. . . . “Framing in discourse” refers to how a narrative is introduced and shaped, and how this relates to what readers expect of the narrative.¹¹⁷

The Model Reader uses textual information to discern the correct frames for interpreting a narrative.¹¹⁸ To put it another way, the text itself selects the frames for the reader. Frames are “*virtually* present in the encyclopedia, that is, they are socially *stored*, and the reader picks them up . . . only when required by the text.”¹¹⁹ They tell the reader what to “actualize” (employ for interpretation) and what to “narcotize” (leave dormant) from the cultural encyclopedia.¹²⁰ The reader is then encouraged to *forecast* the subsequent narrative and also *test* such predictions in the course of reading.¹²¹ In short, “Framing tells readers how to interpret ensuing narrative.”¹²² Thus, while texts indicate the sort of reader they suppose (the Model Reader with competent recourse to the cultural encyclopedia) they also create competence in the reader through textual means.¹²³ In Eco’s words, “A well-organized text on the one hand presupposes a model of competence coming, so to speak, from outside the text, but on the

116 Examples abound. If the «traffic» frame is agreed upon by interlocutors, then “it is impossible for me to pass” means the driver cannot overtake another car. If, however, the «school» frame is agreed upon, then the same words are the tuition-paying parent’s most dreaded Thanksgiving weekend news. Throughout this work the guillemets represent a specific frame and its set of corresponding concepts.

117 Kenneth Duncan Litwak, *Echoes of Scripture in Luke-Acts: Telling the History of God’s People Intertextually* (JSNTSup 282; London: T&T Clark, 2005), 2–3.

118 Eco, *Role*, 20–27.

119 *Ibid.*, 23.

120 *Ibid.*

121 *Ibid.*, 31–33; cf also *idem*, *Limits*, 59, 148–49.

122 Litwak, *Echoes*, 3. John Hollander contends that whether such “tropes of thought or feelings” are intentional or not, they can still create an “underground cipher-message” or “a private melody or undersong” (*The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981], ix).

123 Eco, *Role*, 7–8.

other hand works to build up, by merely textual means, such a competence."¹²⁴ In sum, texts tell readers how to read.

Specifically, biblical scholars have noted that OT texts quoted early in a NT piece contribute to selecting the most determinative frames.¹²⁵ Moreover, the repetition of key words and ideas gives clearer direction to the reader for discerning the right frames.¹²⁶ I contend that Matthew's prologue-quotations form a constellation of texts that become a hermeneutical guide for the rest of the gospel. By virtue of their *early placement* in the gospel and *repetitious close proximity to one another* they select powerful frames, giving orientation and definition to the rest of the story.¹²⁷ They serve as the narrator's interpretive commentary and *contribute decisively to the formation of the Model Reader*, one whose encyclopedic competence is primarily marked by knowledge of the specifically quoted OT texts' narrative contexts. Such "intertextual frames" are able to be far more precise in guiding the reader in interpretation than "common frames."¹²⁸ These quotations identify specific OT contexts thereby reducing "the treasury of intertextuality" the reader must search. In other words, the quotes give specific guidance on what to "actualize" and what to "narcotize" from the cultural encyclopedia.¹²⁹

Quotations Generate Antecedents

Since C. H. Dodd published his *According to the Scriptures: The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology*, exegetes have been increasingly interested in the way NT authors may have used OT quotes to invoke entire contexts.¹³⁰ Dodd argues

124 Ibid., 8.

125 See esp. Watts, *New Exodus*, 53–90; G. K. Beale, *John's Use of the Old Testament in Revelation* (JSNTSup 166; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 167; Pao, *New Exodus*, 37–69.

126 Eco, *Role*, 26.

127 While less interested in the prologue-quotations' effect on the rest of the gospel, Soares Prabhu does say the proximity of the early quotes "gives the narrative a very specific texture" (*Formula*, 162).

128 Eco, *Role*, 21–22.

129 In this way I again agree with Culpepper that intertexture is not an area exclusively between author and text but also between text and reader (*Mapping*, 73–74). As Dean comments, "Oral-scribal intertexture . . . does not realize its effect on the basis of the author's knowledge and deliberate use of other texts. Rather, it is effective because the audience heard in the speaker's voice echoes of remembered literary traditions" ("Textured Criticism," 87).

130 C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures: The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology* (London: Nisbet & Co., 1952), esp. chs. 2–3. Though initially met with little enthusiasm, W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann call Dodd's "a strong case" (*Matthew: A New Translation with*

that (for at least the 15 OT contexts he examines) NT authors did not use the OT as a source of proof-texts, but thought in terms of whole contexts whereby even a short quote could “index” a wider referent.¹³¹

Developing this idea, some scholars have spoken of “an intertextual conversation” between New Testament authors and “the voice of Scripture.”¹³² In such a “conversation” the two passages—the NT context in which the OT quote sits and the OT context from which the quote comes—need each other for interpretation. This is what Francis Watson calls generation and amplification. He writes, “The citation from Habakkuk 2.4 actually *generates* its antecedent... [and] the antecedent amplifies the citation.”¹³³ By this generation an OT quotation and its context can cast an interpretive influence over the NT context. At the same time, the OT context is illumined and interpreted by its use in the NT. Says Robert L. Brawley, “A reference to an old text locates the modern interpreter in a tensive ambience of echoes between the two texts, and the question is how the two texts resonate with each other.”¹³⁴ The

Introduction and Commentary [AB 26; New York: Doubleday, 1971], LXI). They also call the assessment of Matthew’s quotations as proof texts “a waste of time” because authors like Matthew did not (of course) have recourse to identify statements by chapter and verse (ibid., LXII). “Not only would the whole context of a cited passage have to be searched—if indeed a gospel author wished to discover what we call a ‘verse’—but the whole context would usually be known by heart” (ibid.).

131 Subsequent work has given weight to Dodd’s theory. One of the most widely read is Richard B. Hays’s, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). Hays also finds, and works from the understanding, that quotations “can become a mode of troping: citations allude to their original contexts” (155). Paul “allows Scripture to echo into the text of his letters in such a way that the echoes suggest patterns of meaning wider than his own overt interpretive claims” (ibid.). In regard to Matthew specifically, many follow Lars Hartman who says a given quotation elicits “a bundle of ideas connected with its context and/or its interpretation and usage” (“Scriptural Exegesis in the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Problem of Communication,” in *L’Évangile selon Mattieu: rédaction et théologie* [ed. M. Didier; Gembloux: Duculot, 1972], 134). While this may be unrealistic to expect from the entirety of Matthew’s church, Keener often speaks of “more sophisticated readers” who would have known OT contexts (*Matthew, inter alia* 109, 114). In a religious community, such readers’ knowledge spreads quickly (see n. 3 above).

132 Hays, *Echoes*, 35. Francis Watson works from this perspective, speaking of a “dialogue between the apostle and the prophet” (*Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith* [London: T&T Clark, 2004], 21).

133 Watson, *Paul*, 43.

134 Robert L. Brawley, *Text to Text: Voices of Scripture in Luke-Acts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 8.

implications are such that “the exegetical problems posed by the antecedent should not be treated in abstraction from the citation; antecedent and citation are interdependent.”¹³⁵ Thus for Matthew there is a two-way influence: the quotes are not islands, but draw their OT contexts into the Matthean narrative (Matthew “generates” the OT contexts) thereby interpreting the OT contexts and giving them a voice heard throughout the Matthean narrative (Matthew “amplifies” the OT texts).

The Model Reader Employs Frames

Loveday Alexander is right to point out that

the use of literary convention necessitates the existence of a shared world of discourse to which writer and readers can assume a certain basic level of understanding as a foundation for communication: the writer may take the reader along unexpected paths but the journey cannot even begin unless the two have a basic level of mutual understanding.¹³⁶

This “shared world of discourse” which creates a “mutual understanding” is Eco’s “cultural encyclopedia,” the storehouse of public literary knowledge.¹³⁷ It consists of sharing a common “story,” with which author and audience alike attempt to understand who they are, where they are, what the problem is, and what the solution is.¹³⁸ When authors presume upon such stories, allusively charged words resonate and echoes are heard.¹³⁹ A single traditional phrase can then “tap the traditional reservoir” that “holds the key to worlds of meaning.”¹⁴⁰ The echoes then evoke this shared world and place both author and audience therein.¹⁴¹ Brawley even contends that “the more readers are

¹³⁵ Watson, *Paul*, 43.

¹³⁶ Loveday Alexander, *The Preface to Luke’s Gospel: Literary Convention and Social Context in Luke 1.1–4 and Acts 1.1* (SNTSMS 78; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 210.

¹³⁷ Brawley calls this basic level of mutual understanding the “cultural repertoire” (*Text to Text*, 6).

¹³⁸ Wright, *New Testament*, 132–33; see also 38–44, 122–37. Wagner calls such stories “the way people articulate the larger conceptions they hold concerning the cosmos and their place in it” (*Heralds*, 29). They form “the context for [one’s] reflections” (*ibid.*, 31).

¹³⁹ Hollander, *Figure*, 119.

¹⁴⁰ John Miles Foley, *Immanent Art: From Structure to Meaning in Traditional Oral Epic* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1991), 7.

¹⁴¹ See Hayes, *Echoes*, 155.

required to listen for allusions, the more they are drawn into the shared world of the implied author."¹⁴²

In the case of Matthew's audience, we can say that echoes emerge when minds are "soaked in the scriptural heritage of Israel."¹⁴³ Therefore, early OT intertextuality in Matthew raises an audience's sensitivity to this cultural repertoire, creating a metonymic reservoir of referential meaning, and invoking an overarching schema, a "frame," for interpretation.¹⁴⁴ Once invoked, "one can focus more precisely on any aspect within that schema by using various 'icons' to invoke frameworks relevant to the particular aspect desired."¹⁴⁵ These icons are defined by the selected frame "with the aid of which the reader or audience can successfully negotiate an experience of the work or art."¹⁴⁶

Narratives Employ Rhetorical Strategies

The rhetorical effect of such quoting and echoing is to place the audience in a symbolic field that gives them clues on how to interpret the narrative. If both author and audience share the same assumptions about the symbolic field, it becomes easier for the audience to place itself therein. Further, because the quotations come from a scriptural tradition and yet are taken in new directions, the usage has the effect of giving the community an identity by which they can still relate to the tradition, but also disassociate themselves from those who, in disagreement, seek to remain in the old tradition.

Jamie Clark-Soles has argued that religious sectarian groups use Scripture to tie themselves into a tradition and at the same time distinguish themselves from the mother religion from which they feel the need to separate.¹⁴⁷ Thus the community can recount their origins and at the same time differentiate themselves.¹⁴⁸ She writes, "Sects are engaged in the production of culture, a production in which Scripture plays a key role and which is fundamentally shaped by the need to distinguish the sectarian culture from various external

¹⁴² Litwak's summary (*Echoes*, 26); see Brawley, *Text to Text*, 41.

¹⁴³ Steven Moyise, "Intertextuality and the Study of the Old Testament in the New Testament," in *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essay in Honour of J. L. North* (ed. Steve Moyise; JSNTSup 189; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000), 19.

¹⁴⁴ Beaton says, "OT quotations carry with them a web of associations that are evoked when read, particularly if they are well known" (*Isaiah's Christ*, 33–34).

¹⁴⁵ Watts, *New Exodus*, 50.

¹⁴⁶ Foley, *Immanent Art*, 245.

¹⁴⁷ Clark-Soles, *Scripture*, passim; she specifically examines the Qumran covenanters, the Branch Davidians, and the Johannine community.

¹⁴⁸ Fraade also sees this going on at Qumran ("Looking," 62–65).

cultures, especially a parent tradition.”¹⁴⁹ The communities could submit to Scripture’s authority and also make the case that their existence is a manifestation of the Scripture’s telos.

Moreover “Scripture may be used to indicate a boundary between those who understand it and those who do not.”¹⁵⁰ This, of course, creates tension with the sect’s parent tradition as competing claims to represent the only true interpretation arise.¹⁵¹ Thus, “Through this retrospective historical recounting, the author uses Scripture to create ‘them,’ to explain the nature of the opponents now by looking to the past where the sectarians can see the inexorability of the present situation.”¹⁵² More specifically, “When the author lambastes those of the parent tradition, he bestows his greater calumny upon the *leaders* . . . who *cause* [the people] to stray.”¹⁵³ Some kind of analogous application of sacred traditions is surely in play in Matthew’s community as well.

Study Parameters

For this study, I prefer the term “formula-quotation” to “fulfillment-quotation” because the narrative effect of the formula is caused by more than the simple use of πληρωθῆ. ¹⁵⁴ Each quotation is introduced by the phrase διὰ τοῦ προφήτου (διὰ τῶν προφητῶν in 2:23), a phrase that occurs only seven times in the NT outside of Matthew. Further, eleven of the thirteen contain an aorist passive participial form of λέγω, a form used nowhere else in the NT outside of Matthew. It is the presence of *all three* of these elements (mostly together, but not always) that prepare the reader for the special quotation to follow. The words πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν are excluded in 2:5 (though διὰ τοῦ προφήτου is still present) in order to have the quotation fit the form of direct speech. And πληρωθῆ is not used in 3:3 probably because fulfillment is a theological idea that applies only to Jesus

149 Clark-Soles, *Scripture*, 134.

150 Ibid., 220.

151 Jonathan G. Campbell, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1–8, 19–20* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), 9. See also the recent study by Susan J. Wendel which explores the development of Christian identity from the first to the second century as they separated from Jews on interpretive grounds (*Scriptural Interpretation and Community Self-Definition in Luke-Acts and the Writings of Justin Martyr* [NovTSup 139; Leiden: Brill, 2011], esp. 27–79, 207–77).

152 Clark-Soles, *Scripture*, 98.

153 Ibid., 97 (emphasis original).

154 So too Stanton, *Gospel*, 347–48. For an extended discussion of other available terms and different criteria see Soares Prabhu, *Formula*, 18–26.

in these quotations.¹⁵⁵ The quotation of Isa 6:9–10 in Matt 13:14–15 also exhibits very similar characteristics. Therefore, I count thirteen in my list of formula-quotations: 1:22–23; 2:5–6; 2:15; 2:17–18; 2:23; 3:3; 4:14–16; 8:17; 12:17–21; 13:14–15; 13:35; 21:4–5; 27:9–10.¹⁵⁶

Matthew 1:1–4:16 is here considered the prologue. There are three reasons for this.¹⁵⁷ First, Matthew 4:17 marks the commencement of Jesus' public ministry. Everything prior to that, including his encounter with John the Baptist, establishes Jesus' identity so that readers can understand *who* went through the Galilean countryside teaching and healing (4:23). Second, Edgar Krentz, seeing that Matthew likes to group things in sevens, suggests that the very fact that there are *seven* formula-quotations in the prologue is further proof, in addition to the textual evidence, that Matthew intended his first four chapters to comprise a specific section of his gospel.¹⁵⁸ Third, there is no formal marker anywhere in the text for where the prologue ends and the narrative-proper begins. A label such as "prologue" is a modern organizing term to conveniently divide up the text. In simply reading the narrative, however, there is a seamless flow between pericopae. Therefore, the grouping of the first seven formula-quotations together for this study is determined by their close proximity to one another, more than their inclusion in a formal "prologue." Nonetheless, the term "prologue-quotation" is used for convenience's sake.

Now to the story!

155 France, *Matthew*, 71. Cf. also Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew* (ASNU 20; Lund: Gleerup, 1954; repr., Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968), 47–48.

156 Though the quotation of Dan 11:31; 12:11 in Matt 24:15 also fits some of these criteria, it is not included in my list because it stands *sui generis* as a reference to the future, not the narrative-present.

157 Further argumentation for this division can be found in Gibbs, "Mark 1," 157, 159–60, 178–81; Jack Dean Kingsbury, "Structure of Matthew's Gospel and His Concept of Salvation History," *CBQ* 35 (1973): 453–59; idem, *Matthew: Structure, Christology, Kingdom* (2d ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), ix–xiii, 7–17; W. Barnes Tatum, "'The Origin of Jesus Messiah' (Matt 1:1, 18a): Matthew's Use of the Infancy Traditions," *JBL* 96 (1977): 529–33; Bauer, *Structure*, 73–84; Kynes, *Christology*, 9–11; Joachim Gnllka, *Das Matthäusevangelium* (2 vols.; 2d ed.; HTKNT Freiburg: Herder, 1992–1993), 1:1–2. See Bauer for more bibliography (*Structure*, 153 n. 37).

158 Krentz, "Extent," 409–14. Among those who object to identifying 1:1–4:16 as Matthew's prologue (see Kupp, *Matthew's Emmanuel*, 51–52 and bibliog.), no answer has been given to Krentz's argument.

The Effect of Isaiah's Narrative World in Matthew 1:18–25

Matthew's first formula-quotation is a perennial problem. Since the time of the first apologists,¹ into the twenty-first century, statements are common to the effect that "the messianic application of Isaiah 7:14 is . . . not only unprecedented, but an unwarranted enigma."² Even a cursory reading of the Isaianic context reveals why Second Temple Jewish authors did not use Isaiah 7 messianically, which shows why Matthew's use is "unprecedented." But is it "unwarranted" as well? To many it seems so because it is commonly assumed that all of Matthew's formula-quotations have a messianic intent. This consensus, however, limits the interpretive possibilities.

In this chapter I argue that in 1:23 Matthew uses Isa 7:14 together with its context to indicate that Jesus' "people" (1:21) are Yahweh's end-of-exile people, and that they experience this through Yahweh's faithfulness to David's house. Because Yahweh has made good on his promises to David, Jesus' people are delivered from exilic captivity and brought into covenantal and eschatological restoration. Thus, Matthew's first formula-quotation is not only christological but also ecclesiological in force. It locates Jesus and "his people" on the *heilsgeschichtliche* time-line—at the end of the exile—squarely within Yahweh's covenantal plan for the ages. The point is not only *who* Jesus is (or who the Messiah is), but also what his arrival in history means for his people's location on the redemptive-historical calendar.³ To demonstrate this I

1 Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho* 43, 77; Irenæus, *Against Heresies* 3.21.1, 4–9; Origen, *Against Celsus* 1.34–35.

2 Kupp, *Matthew's Emmanuel*, 166.

3 Jerome's comments on Isa 7:14 are intriguing for three reasons: (1) he understands the prophecy as particularly concerned with the status of David's house; (2) specifically vis-à-vis the historical events of Isaiah 7; and (3) the derivative effect those first two points have for understanding God's presence "with his people." He writes, "The solemn oracle is spoken before the royal court, fearful lest the Davidic dynasty be overthrown. Such a catastrophe would mean the cancellation of the great dynastic promise made to David's house (2 Sam 7:12–16). It was on the royal successor to David that Judah pinned her hopes for the welfare of God's people. The child about to be born, therefore, may be the young Hezekiah in whose birth Judah would see the continuing presence of God among his people and another renewal of the promise made to David. Nevertheless, the solemnity of the oracle and the name 'Emmanuel'

will explore the intertextual conversation between Matthew 1 and Isa 7:1–9:6 [EB 9:7].⁴

Matthew 1:23 in Context

For this study, particular elements of the genealogy warrant attention in addition to the evangelist's use of Isaiah in 1:23.

Matthew 1:1–17

Matthew's story does not actually begin with Jesus, but with Abraham and runs through a telescoped version of Israel's history.⁵ Before the typical narrative time begins with Mary and Joseph in 1:18, a theological interpretation of the sweep of Israel's history since Abraham accounts for the story's pre-history. The gospel then becomes the next installment of Israel's epochal tale. Where the genealogy leaves off is where Matthew picks up, establishing a redemptive-historical setting for the ensuing narrative.⁶ Specifically, this theological setting is defined by three foci—Abraham, David, and “the deportation”—and the manner in which they relate to each other (made particularly explicit in verse 17).⁷ Specifically, “the deportation” stands out in so far as it is the only overtly mentioned *event* in a genealogy of otherwise names.⁸ Given that Abraham and David are redemptive-historical figures to

lend credence to the opinion that Isaiah's perspective does not stop at the birth of Hezekiah; it moves ahead to that ideal king of David's line through whose coming God could finally be said to be definitively with his people” (*Comm. Isa.*; translation from Frederick L. Moriarty, “Isaiah 1–39” in *The Jerome Biblical Commentary* [ed. Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, and Roland E. Murphy; 2 vols.; Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968], 1:270–71).

4 All enumerations follow the MT with differences in the LXX in brackets. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

5 Matthew's audience surely knew this history. See Keener, *Matthew*, 77; Warren Carter, *Matthew: Storyteller, Interpreter, Evangelist* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2004), 107–108.

6 Nicholas G. Piotrowski, “After the Deportation”: Observations in Matthew's Apocalyptic Genealogy,” *BBR* 25 (2015): 189–203. Similarly, Howell contends that the genealogy is “expositional” in that the narrator provides the reader with indispensable information for understanding the ensuing narrative (*Inclusive Story*, 98). Kennedy has convincingly argued that genealogies situated in narrative discourse (specifically those in Genesis, Ruth, Chronicles and Matthew) become part of the narrative itself, whereby they have an inverse hermeneutical relationship with the narrative proper (*Recapitulation*, 35–52). The two need each other.

7 Piotrowski, “After the Deportation,” 193–94.

8 Christoph Burger comments that “es ist bezeichnend, daß der zweite Einschnitt in der Genealogie Mt 1, 12 und 1, 17 nicht mit dem Namen einer Person (vgl. v. 6 und 17a), sondern

whom Yahweh made covenantal promises, the exile—the inception of which was “the deportation”⁹—is presented as the obstacle to the fulfillment of those promises.¹⁰ Jesus is then set forward as the telos of the genealogy, and thus the solution to the problem of exile and fulfillment of Yahweh’s covenant promises to Abraham and David.¹¹

As Davies and Allison rhetorically ask:

Is not the reader to infer that the kingdom that was inaugurated with David and lost at the captivity is restored with the coming of Jesus, the Davidic Messiah? In other words, does not the structure of the genealogy mean that the advent of the Messiah marks the beginning of the eschatological restoration of Israel’s kingdom?¹²

It appears so.

durch ein Ereignis, eine Katastrophe, markiert ist” (*Jesus als Davidsson: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* [FRLANT 98; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970], 96–97). See also Mervyn Eloff, “Exile, Restoration and Matthew’s Genealogy of Jesus ὁ Χριστός,” *Neot* 38 (2004): 82.

- 9 Theodor Zahn is right, “Die μετοικεσία (v. 11. 12. 17) [ist] nicht das 70 jährige Exil, sondern das Ereignis der Deportation nach Babel bezeichnet” (*Das Evangelium des Matthäus* [4th ed.; ZKNT 1; Leipzig: Deichertsche, 1922], 56; followed by Burger, *Davidsson*, 96). Donald Hagner also comments that μετὰ . . . τὴν μετοικεσίαν “refers to after the beginning of the exile, not to the time after it was over” (*Matthew* [2 vols.; WBC 33; Dallas: Word, 1993–1995], 1:11). Nolland too writes that it “does not refer to the restoration, but rather to the period after the deportation happened” (*Matthew*, 84). See esp. Piotrowski, “After the Deportation,” 194–98.
- 10 Along these same lines see also Donald J. Verseput, “The Davidic Messiah and Matthew’s Jewish Christianity,” in *Society of Biblical Literature 1995 Seminar Papers* (ed. Eugene H. Lovering Jr.; SBLSP 34; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 107–108; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:187; Eloff, “Exile,” 75–87; Kennedy, *Recapitulation*, 76, 79, 93–100, 108; Hood, *Messiah*, 83, 85–86, 155–56, 159, 162.
- 11 So too Wright, *New Testament*, 385–86; Piotrowski, “After the Deportation,” 192–200. Kingsbury says God’s promises to Abraham and David, which guide the whole of Israel’s history, “ostensibly had come to naught in the Babylonian captivity [and] have attained their fulfillment in the coming of the heir of Abraham and David” (*Structure*, 44). Similarly D. A. Carson, *Matthew* (EBC 8; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1984), 62, 66–67, 95; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:180, 187–88; Craig L. Blomberg, *Matthew* (NAC 22; Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1992), 53; France, *Matthew*, 29–30; Evans, *Matthew*, 37; bibliog. in n. 10.
- 12 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:180.

Matthew's telescoped retelling of Israel's history, therefore, excludes the return from exile. The reader perceives that, in Matthew's narrative world, *the last major event of Israel's history before the birth of the Christ is the deportation to Babylon*.¹³ The third part of the genealogy can be defined, then, as the unending exile when there is no Davidic king.¹⁴ Thus, the reader perceives the entire era encompassed by the generations in verses 12 through 16 to be one of exile without a ruling Davidide, and that that exile is the barrier to the fulfillment of God's covenant promises to the patriarch and the king alluded to in the first two tables.¹⁵ Says Joel Kennedy:

This tragic failure [of David's sin, mentioned in Matt 1:6] ends with the catastrophic event of Israel's history, the exile, when kingship ceases and the people are subjected to foreign rulers. The Old Testament story effectively ends here according to Matthew's scheme. Although the Old Testament records that a return takes place, a modest temple is rebuilt, and some basic aspects of national identity are maintained, there nevertheless continues "exilic" conditions without a king and independent nationhood. Matthew indicates that the story is suspended here, but that it is by no means over, in that a new *ascent* has taken place, unknown to Israel until Messiah's coming.¹⁶

Thus, in the genealogy exile is defined, at least in part, as the lack of a Davidic king, which doubles as unfulfilled promises to Abraham.¹⁷ Matthew's narrative world, therefore, includes a covenantal interpretation of Israel's entire history, and Matthew's setting moving forward is one of exile, defined as Israel without a Davidic king.¹⁸ With Jesus the Christ, however, the end of the exile is now in

13 See also Kennedy, *Recapitulation*, 78–80.

14 So too Craig A. Evans, "Jesus & the Continuing Exile of Israel," in *Jesus & the Restoration of Israel: A Critical Assessment of N. T. Wright's Jesus and the Victory of God* (ed. Carey C. Newman; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1999; repr. of "Aspects of Exile and Restoration in Jesus," in *Jesus in Context: Temple, Purity, & Restoration* [eds. Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans; AGJU 39; Leiden: Brill, 1997], 263–93), 99; Kennedy, *Recapitulation*, 97; Hood, *Messiah*, 85.

15 Similarly see bibliog. in nn. 10 and 11 above.

16 Kennedy, *Recapitulation*, 100 (emphasis original). Davies and Allison agree that "the appearance of Jesus [comes] at the end of the exilic era," (*Matthew*, 1:187).

17 See Hood, *Messiah*, 156.

18 See also Merrill Kitchen, "Another Exile: 'Jesus and His Brothers' in the Gospel of Matthew," *ABR* 59 (2011): 3–4; *pace* Nolland (*Matthew*, 84) who avers that "no particular interpretation of the Exile is reflected in the genealogy."

view insofar as he is the rightful Davidic heir, the one who will finally reverse the theologically tragic effects of “the deportation.”¹⁹

The rest of Matthew will now test, and either confirm or deny, this interpretive inference, especially as attention is given to intertextual conversations that the reader imbibes through the prologue-quotations.²⁰ At the very least, given that “the deportation” is mentioned four times in the genealogy, the reader is prepared for the exile to play some kind of role in the narrative discourse.²¹

Matthew 1:18–25

With that the reader comes to the pericope that houses the first formula-quotation. In verse 18 the reader is introduced to Mary, and in verse 19 to Joseph. The rest of the chapter, then, relays the content of the angel's message to Joseph (1:20–21), the narrator's interpretive commentary through the use of Isa 7:14 (1:22–23), and Joseph's reaction (1:24–25). With this episode Matthew continues to address the major redemptive-historical concerns broached in the genealogy, namely the fate of Yahweh's promises to David vis-à-vis the exile. This is primarily seen in the intertextual conversation between Matthew and Isaiah at 1:23—the birth of Jesus marks the reenthronement of the Davidic line and the end of exile for Jesus' “people.”

Who Are “His People” in Matthew 1:21?

First, however, who are Jesus' “people” (1:21)? *Prima facie* “his people” are ethnic Israel.²² The genealogy and Matt 2:6d support this much.²³ Yet, given the

19 Aquinas also comments that the end of verse 17 marks “the deliverance from Babylon, signifying the deliverance from captivity that was made by Christ” (*Catena Aurea: Commentary on the Four Gospels Collected out of the Works of the Fathers* [trans. John Henry Newman; 4 vols.; 1841–1845; repr. Southhampton, Engl.: Saint Austin Press, 1997], 1:39).

20 As Eco says, “Every interpretation can and must be compared with the textual object and with the *intentio operis*” (*Limits*, 52).

21 Chapter 4 of this work will also show that such a view of the exile was not unique to Matthew among the Second Temple literature.

22 So Luz, *Matthew*, 1:95. Luz argues that every use of λαός in the gospel means the OT people of God and that “the text permits no reader to think that this promise of the angel for Israel has taken effect in the church” (*ibid.*, n. 55). Luz does contend, however, that the third person plural pronoun in v. 23 *does* refer to the church (*ibid.*, 1:91, 96). It is unclear to me why the church should think of themselves in v. 23 but not in v. 21. I also find Konradt's reading unclear (*Israel*, 340–45 et passim) given his others statements like, “a process of differentiation [is] taking place within Israel” (*ibid.*, 264) and, “the nations will be added to the λαός” (*ibid.*, 275; cf. also 265–68).

23 So Wayne Baxter, *Israel's Only Shepherd: Matthew's Shepherd Motif and His Social Setting* (LNTS 457; London: T&T Clark, 2012), 132–33.

Gentiles in the genealogy,²⁴ the magi in the following pericope,²⁵ and Israel's leaders' actions, the reader is justified in understanding "his people" as whosoever follows and obeys Jesus be they Jew or Gentile.²⁶ These, then, would be the true descendants of Abraham.²⁷ Thus there is tension between the two readings; as far as the narrative goes, therefore, it is an open question. The text prohibits deciding either way at this point. Who "his people" are is an open question that the rest of the narrative must answer.²⁸

Isaiah 7:14; 8:8 in Matthew 1:23

Additionally, the reader is informed in 1:23 that "his people" also call him Immanuel. Semantically, the name means "with us (is) God," as Matthew makes explicit by also quoting Isa 8:8. Judging by the context of Matthew 1, the virginal conception is the most obvious event to which Matthew refers when he says Isa 7:14 is "fulfilled." However that may be, the reader additionally concludes that the re-establishment of David's throne, marking the end of the exile, is also part of the fulfillment.²⁹ For the introductory formula (1:22) informs the reader that the entirety of the aforementioned events fulfills Isa 7:14; 8:8 (ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῇ), not just the birth. That is, the ὅλον of Matt 1:22 refers to the theological implications of the genealogy in addition to the narrative of 1:8–25.³⁰ The virgin conception and the thrust of the genealogy together signify that David's throne is now re-established and that the exile will soon come to an end for "his people." How this could be, the context of Isa 7:14 will explain.

24 See Hood, *Messiah*, 119–38.

25 See my next chapter, pp. 63–64.

26 See also Frankemölle, *Jahwebund*, 211–18; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:210; Lidija Novakovic, *Messiah, the Healer of the Sick: A Study of Jesus as the Son of David in the Gospel of Matthew* (WUNT 2/170; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 66; Miler, *Citations*, 27–29. France also agrees that *prima facie* "his people" appears to be ethnic Israel but the reader does not get far before the universal scope becomes apparent (*Matthew*, 53). Cf. Matt 7:24–27; 12:46–50; 21:43 as well as the make-up of Matthew's community who surely would have seen themselves as Jesus' "people" saved from their sins.

27 So too Wright, *New Testament*, 388.

28 Carson, *Matthew*, 76; Kynes, *Solidarity*, 3–4. Seeing, therefore, that "his people" naturally means ethnic Israel at the beginning of the story and then becomes universal, the supersessionist view cannot be right. Rather, Gentiles *join* Israel.

29 Almost to the point, Davies and Allison say, "[Jesus] is a true Davidid, the legal son of a Davidid, and his birth means the fulfillment of the promise made to the house of David in Isa. 7:14" (*Matthew*, 1:219).

30 France also sees "the whole complex of events" as the referent of ὅλον γέγονεν (*Matthew*, 55).

For now, moreover, God's promise to be with his people in Matt 1:23 evokes some significant OT images beyond Isaiah 7–8. David D. Kupp has demonstrated that the language of divine presence finds its most prominent OT antecedent in Yahweh's promises to Abraham (Genesis 15; 17), Israel's exodus experience (Exodus 3; 19–24; 32–34) and promises to David including the divine inhabiting the Jerusalem temple (2 Sam 7:8–17; 23:1–7; 1 Kgs 8:46–53; 9:2–9; Psalms 46; 48; 76; 89; 132).³¹

Kupp also demonstrates the way the OT language of divine presence serves as an identity marker for God's people.³² The “with you” phrase “*deliberately encodes in a formulaic saying [Israel's] ongoing self-perception as the people with whom God chooses to dwell and act favourably.*”³³ Thus in Matt 1:23 the ecclesiological implications of Immanuel are immense. Those who call Jesus Immanuel—the fulfillment of covenantal promises to David at the end of the exile—are the ones who can consider themselves Yahweh's covenant people.³⁴

Taking Matt 1:21 and 1:23 together, the names Jesus and Immanuel are necessarily linked in that they form “*the narrator's programmatic statements.*”³⁵ Together they form one inextricably interdependent mission for Jesus.³⁶ Salvation from sins (Jesus) and God's presence with his people (Immanuel) “are the focal point and *raison d'être* for Jesus' own existence.”³⁷ Given the programmatic nature of this pericope, this hendiadys—salvation and the presence of God—projects itself over the entire narrative (which will also develop it).³⁸

In the presentation and explanation of Jesus-saviour, Emmanuel—God with us, the reader is given both the presiding image for interpreting the story and the fundamental, unanswered question of his

31 Kupp, *Matthew's Emmanuel*, 109–37.

32 Ibid., 138–51.

33 Ibid., 151 (emphasis original).

34 Without the emphasis on the exile, Frankemölle also reads “with you” as covenantal language and key to Matthew's Christology and ecclesiology (*Jahwebund*, 7–83).

35 Kupp, *Matthew's Emmanuel*, 56 (emphasis original). See also ibid., 168–69, 173; Luz, *Theology*, 31; Carter, *Storyteller*, 110–11.

36 So too McConnell, *Law*, 106. Frankemölle also relates the names in 1:21 and 1:23 to each other in that Jesus saves from the sin that caused Israel to cease to be God's people (*Jahwebund*, 217).

37 Kupp, *Matthew's Emmanuel*, 57.

38 Ibid., 57–58.

characterization—how is this double naming to be fulfilled? . . . Here is Matthew’s reading lens, his ideological cipher for the narrative.³⁹

Thus, the predicament in Matthew that needs resolution, presupposed by these two names, is that *the people are in sin and therefore God is not among them*.⁴⁰ These crises are what comprise the exilic condition of the people and provide the setting for the entire narrative. Given Kupp’s findings about the “ideological cipher” these names provide, the exilic condition of God’s people is foregrounded for the entirety of the narrative.⁴¹

To summarize, the genealogy sets the narrative at the time of ongoing exile. In this setting the people are in sin and God is not with them—evinced by the absence of a Davidic king. Jesus is then presented as the exile-ending Davidide that in some way represents Yahweh with “his people.” This places said “people” on the redemptive-historical calendar at the end of the exile. The names at one and the same time identify who Jesus is, what time it is redemptive-historically, and bespeak the covenantal and *heilsgeschichtliche* status of Jesus’ “people.” The most powerful interpretive guidance, however, is interjected through a fulfillment-formula which generates the context of Isa 7:14.

39 Ibid., 58. Fred W. Burnett also writes on the primacy effect of the name “Jesus” that keeps the reader thinking about its meaning (“The Undecidability of the Proper Name ‘Jesus’ in Matthew,” *Semeia* 54 [1991]: 123–44).

40 Kupp, *Matthew’s Emmanuel*, 59–63.

41 It is commonly averred that LXX Ps 129:8 is the allusive background to Matthew 1:21. There is more semantic evidence, however, for reading Ezekiel 36:28–29/37:23 as the conceptual background to this thematic verse (Nicholas G. Piotrowski, “I Will Save My People from their Sins’: The Influence of Ezekiel 36:28a–29b; 37:23b on Matthew 1:21,” *TynBul* 64 [2013]: 33–51). When this is recognized, Matthew 1’s «end-of-exile» frame is redoubled. By assuming, as Matt 1:21 does, that Jesus’ “people” need salvation from sins, and stating explicitly that Jesus will provide it, Matthew has summoned Ezekiel 36–37’s definition of both “sin” and “salvation,” as well as “David’s” role in the restoration. In the latter days “David” (=Son of David=Jesus in Matthew) will reign over a people who are cleansed by Yahweh of their idolatry, given new hearts, taught Yahweh’s statutes and judgments, and regathered from the nations to possess their ancestral lands, all of which is concomitant with the restoration from exile. Indeed, “restoration from exile” serves as a hypernym for these things, which comprise the contents/icons of the Ezekielian «end-of-exile» frame. Matthew 1:21 thus identifies Jesus as the one who will end the exile and defines Yahweh’s people as those who are “his” in that eschatological day. *How* this end-of-exile salvation from sins will happen is played out in the subsequent narrative as the reader employs the Ezekielian «end-of-exile» frame (ibid., 51–53). Other prophetic texts that correlate the end of the exile with forgiveness of sins include Isa 52:13–53:12; Jer 31:31–34; Mic 7:14–19; Dan 9:24.

The Narrative Function of the Formula-Quotation in Matthew 1:22–23

The formula and the following quote of Isa 7:14 in Matt 1:22–23 sit intrusively in the narrative; though the discourse continues the story stops.⁴² Matthew uses a narrator at this point to temporarily suspend the story and interject an interpretive commentary.⁴³ Not unlike a Greek chorus that cuts in for the audience's sake, making space for more complex plots, Matthew provides the reader with an extra-narrative voice. When Matthew's narrator speaks, it is directly to the reader, providing ideological concepts with which the story's meaning can be more fully grasped.⁴⁴ The interpolation explicitly guides the reader in interpretation, and gives hermeneutical direction to the rest of the pericope.⁴⁵ Just as a movie aficionado may pause a film in the opening minutes to give her friends a deeper understanding of the events taking place and help them appreciate the rest of the story, Matthew here interrupts his narrative to interject a comment on "what's really going on." Moreover, by virtue of its placement at the front of the gospel and its close link to the programmatic 1:21, this particular formula-quotation becomes hermeneutically determinative for the entire gospel.⁴⁶ Such an explicit comment contributes to selecting the most determinative frames.⁴⁷

Matthew's narrator does not, however, merely insert a straightforward "this is that" interpretation. Rather, the quotation takes the reader into Isaiah's

42 Pace J. C. Fenton the formula is too consistently Matthean throughout the gospel to think it is spoken by the angel here ("Matthew and the Divinity of Jesus: Three Questions Regarding Matthew 1:20–23," in *Studia Biblica 1978: II. Papers on the Gospels; Sixth International Congress on Biblical Studies, Oxford 3–7 April 1978* [ed. E. A. Livingstone; JSNTSup 2; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980], 79–80).

43 Others have also noted the formula-quotation's way of interrupting the narrative with a sudden halt (Miler, *Citations*, 7, 19; Kingsbury, "Birth," 159; Kupp, *Matthew's Emmanuel*, 56, 163; Carter, *Storyteller*, 110; France, *Matthew*, 54–55, 58).

44 Here I agree with Beaton that the formula-quotations have a "bi-referential" effect on the narrative, at one and the same time moving the story forward and commenting on a fundamentally deeper theological level (*Isaiah's Christ*, 4–5; see also Miler, *Citations*, 17, 24, 33–34; Kupp, *Matthew's Emmanuel*, 168). I would add to that the observation that the quotations directly address the reader as well (so Howell, *Inclusive Story*, passim; Miler, *Citations*, 24, 29–30, 32 et passim). In that sense they can be called "tri-referential."

45 So too Miler, *Citations*, 32.

46 Frankemölle, *Jahwebund*, 7 et passim; Kupp, *Matthew's Emmanuel*, 56–58, 163. Kupp calls the quotations "the redactor's keys to the Gospel's rhetorical design, for they signal to the reader the story's true interpretive framework" (*ibid.*, 163).

47 So Eco, *Role*, 21–22.

narrative world and brings that world back into the Matthean narrative world. The reader experiences this not only by the use of Isa 7:14, but also Isa 8:8 in 1:23 (μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός) pulling on the continual narrative of the larger context of Isaiah 7–8.⁴⁸ Thus Matthew's commentary is not stagnant. Rather, it is a voice that brings with it a host of associations from its OT literary context. In short, it “generates” Isa 7:1–9:6. That is, Matthew's narrator presents to the reader another storyteller: Isaiah, who inserts his narrative (not just 7:14) into Matthew's. As that narrative is “amplified” over Matthew 1 an intertextual conversation is inaugurated. Matthew has said his piece (1:1–25) and then functionally tells his audience, “Now hear this (Isa 7:14; 8:8 and the requisite context) for elucidation!” Then Isaiah says his piece. As Isaiah speaks, however, Matthew's reader hears him with Matthew's narrative (1:1–25) still in mind. Therefore the reader hears Isaiah with Matthean ears, and will return to Matthew (1:22ff.) with Isaianic echoes. Neither is read independently. Having heard from Matthew, we turn now to Isaiah.

Isaiah 7:14 in Context

When Isaiah is read as a self-sustained text, projecting its own complete narrative world, the alliance between Ahaz and Assyria—commonly highlighted by Isaiah commentators—fades far into the background and other concerns surface.⁴⁹ In the shadow of an attack on Jerusalem, Yahweh demonstrates that

48 See also esp. Wim Weren, “Quotations from Isaiah and Mathew's Christology (Mt 1:23 and 4:15–16),” in *Studies in the Book of Isaiah: Festschrift Willem A. M. Beuken* (eds. J. van Ruiten and M. Vervenne; BETL 132; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 450–53; Miler, *Citations*, 8–9; Warren Carter, “Evoking Isaiah: Matthean Soteriology and an Intertextual Reading of Isaiah 7–9 and Matthew 1:23 and 4:15–16,” *JBL* 119 (2000): 508–13; Beaton, *Isaiah's Christ*, 95–97; pace McConnell, *Law*, 108–109; Kupp, *Matthew's Emmanuel*, 165–66.

49 This is not to deny that Isaiah's historical situation and preaching was potentially affected by Ahaz's decision to make an alliance with Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (2 Kgs 15:29; 16:7) for protection against Rezin and Pekah (2 Kgs 16:7; Isa 7:1) instead of trusting in Yahweh alone. See e.g. John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah* (2 vols.; NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986–1998), 1:55, 193–94, 197, 203, 205, 216; J. Alec Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah: An Introduction and Commentary* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1993), 19, 81–82; Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 62–64, 74; John Goldingay, *Isaiah* (NIBCOT; Peabody: Hendrickson, 2001), 63–64. Ironically, John D. W. Watts, also giving the bulk of attention to the militaristic situation, concludes that “the meaning of the entire Vision” is to encourage Ahaz to *continue* in his alliance with Assyria (*Isaiah* [2 vols.; WBC 24; Waco: Word, 1985–1987], 1:87–88, 92–94). This historical background is

he is still “with” his people *through* the preservation of the house of David, which in turn delays exile for those obedient to David’s rule, despite the inevitable exile for those opposed to David’s house. Close attention to the discourse leading up to and through Isa 7:1–9:6 bears this out.

Isaiah 1–6 sets a significant context for the passage in question.⁵⁰ Israel has committed idolatry and brought down the covenant curses; this will result in exile (6:11–13). Nonetheless, exile will not be the final word, and the hope of restoration remains—even if faint—on a distant horizon. Moreover, this descent into exile is closely associated with the sinking house of David, shown in part in the death of Uzziah in Isa 6:1.⁵¹ As the house of David goes, so go the people; the failure of the former is concomitant with the exile of the latter.

The source text in question for Matthew’s reader is situated in the context of Isa 7–12.⁵² The story that begins with the threat to Ahaz in 7:1–2, 6 comes to its conclusion when Yahweh’s people sing of their new salvation in 12:1–6.⁵³ More narrowly Isa 7:1–9:6 teaches that Yahweh’s presence with his people is defined in terms of, and experienced by, his faithfulness to his covenant promises to

not learned, however, from the text of Isaiah itself, but from 2 Kings and 2 Chronicles, nor is there in *Isaiah* any reference to this alliance.

50 Oswalt says ch. 7 is the outworking of ch. 6 (*Isaiah*, 1:197). Some scholars even structure Isaiah with chs. 6 and 7 in the same section (see specifically Andrew H. Bartelt, *The Book Around Immanuel: Style and Structure in Isaiah 2–12* [BJSt 4; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1996]).

51 Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 1:31, 80.

52 Carter has identified many reasons why Matthew’s audience would have read and understood the context surrounding Isa 7:14 (“Evoking,” 508–18). Bartelt even argues that, when counting syllables and words, the phrase שְׁמוֹ עָמְנוּ אֵל in Isa 7:14c sits at the exact center of Isa 2–12 (*Book*, 256)! While it seems doubtful that Matthew or his audience were likely aware of this, thematic and stylistic markers also point to the centrality of Isa 7:14c for the larger theology of Isa 2–12 (*ibid.*, 253–56).

53 So too Childs, *Isaiah*, 62, 69. Blomberg contends that the promise of a child (7:11, 14–15), arrival of a child (8:3–4, 18) and still future expectation of a child (9:1–7), all of whom mark the arrival of salvation, unite chs. 7, 8, and 9 (“Matthew,” 4, 18). In like manner, Thomas L. Leclerc sees 11:1–5 together with 9:2–6 as a composite picture of the coming king’s duties (*Yahweh is Exalted in Justice: Solidarity and Conflict in Isaiah* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001], 69–70). Motyer considers chs. 6–12 as one unit because of the theme of the Messianic hope running throughout (*Isaiah*, 13–14, 31, 74). He also identifies (*ibid.*, 24) 7:1–9:6 together with 9:7–11:16 as one of Isaiah’s “extended doublets” where the same material is rehearsed a second time and viewed from another perspective. This leaves ch. 6 as the contextual setting and ch. 12 as a concluding song of praise for the salvation described in the doublet. See also Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 1:54–55, 192–96; Christopher R. Seitz, *Isaiah 1–39*, (IBC; Louisville: John Knox, 1993), 7–8, 15.

David. This, in turn, means a preservation of the trusting remnant within disobedient Israel in the shadow of exilic threat, and at the same time certain exile for those who oppose the Davidic king.

Isaiah 7:1 is an introductory summary of the content of 7:1–16.⁵⁴ It provides the setting (“in the days of Ahaz”), the problem (a Gentile king in league with an Israelite king to attack Jerusalem; spelled out in further detail in 7:4b–6) and the resolution (the two kings are unsuccessful; explained in detail in 7:7–9a, 14–16).

Verse 2 recounts Ahaz’s reaction to the news of the two approaching kings: his heart trembles. The nomenclature used for Ahaz here is significant. He is not called by his own name, but the redemptive-historical institution for which he is a metonymy: *the house of David*.⁵⁵ By referring to him in this way, the redemptive-historical significance of the situation is highlighted.⁵⁶ What will become of Yahweh’s promises to David (2 Samuel 7) if these kings succeed?⁵⁷ Further, the reader also notices the close association between the actions, and even fate, of the house of David and the people. Not only does his heart tremble, but so do the hearts of the people. These parallel actions remind the reader that as goes the former, so go the latter.

Yahweh’s words to Ahaz through Isaiah comprise verses 3–4. He is told not to fear because these two kings are not up and coming powers, but really

54 So too Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 1:197; *pace* Seitz who takes Isa 7:1 as a description of a past attack (*Isaiah*, 75–76).

55 Davies and Allison also point out the significance of this, adding that the virginal conception also contains allusion to 2 Sam 7:4–17 (*Matthew*, 3:194). See also J. A. Motyer, “Context and Content in the Interpretation of Isaiah 7:14,” *TynBul* 21 (1970): 121–23; idem, *Isaiah*, 81; Jacques Vermeulen, *Du prophète Isaïe à l’apocalyptique: miroir d’un demi-millénaire d’expérience religieuse en Israël* (2 vols.; EBib; Paris: Gabalda, 1977–1978), 1:207, 242–44; Dominique Janthial, *L’oracle de Nathan et l’unité du livre d’Isaïe* (BZAW 343; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), *inter alia* 98.

56 So too John Walton, “Isa 7:14: What’s in a Name?,” *JETS* 30 (1987): 290; Motyer, *Isaiah*, 19, 80–81; Seitz, *Isaiah* 1–39, 63, 67; Childs, *Isaiah*, 64; Goldingay, *Isaiah*, 63; Beaton, *Isaiah’s Christ*, 96.

57 William McKane also sees Isaiah 7 as primarily concerned with salvation for the house of David (“The Interpretation of Isaiah VII 14–25,” *VT* 17 [1967]: 208–19), as does H. G. M. Williamson (“The Messianic Texts in Isaiah 1–39,” in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* [ed. John Day; JSOTSup 270; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998], 251–54). See also Antti Laato, *Who Is Immanuel?: The Rise and the Foundering of Isaiah’s Messianic Expectations* (Åbo: Åbo Academy Press, 1988), 48–79. Janthial even contends that Yahweh’s ability to remain faithful to promises to David, given in 2 Samuel 7, is the pervasive and unifying issue throughout the entirety of Isaiah (*L’oracle, inter alia* 20–23).

deteriorating.⁵⁸ Not to be overlooked, however, is the presence of Isaiah's son, Shear-Jashub. As yet, the significance of the meaning of his name ("a remnant will return") is unclear, but will become lucid as the narrative continues (esp. into ch. 9). In that sense, Isaiah's "first" son foreshadows coming events.⁵⁹ For the time being the name carries both negative and positive overtones.⁶⁰ To speak of a remnant is to speak of preservation, but not without the prior destruction.⁶¹ Therefore Shear-Jashub's presence, even though he is only briefly mentioned, sets an ambiguous mood.

Beginning with the conjunctive phrase וְעַתָּה, verses 5–6 give the content of what Ahaz should not fear: the two kings' evil plan to replace him with their puppet, the son of Tabeel. This fills out the redemptive-historical significance of the situation and further illuminates why the reader is reminded in verse 2 of Ahaz's metonymic function. If these kings succeed, they will not only have defeated *some* king, but they would have entirely removed *the* Davidic house from authority over Jerusalem altogether.⁶² This is an open assault on Yahweh's very word and plan. Little wonder he responds as he does in the following verses.⁶³

In 7:7 Yahweh simply says the plan will not come to pass; verses 8–9a, beginning with the conjunction וְ, compose a short chiasm explaining why.

58 This is most likely the sense of calling them "tails of smoldering fire-brands" in v. 4b (so Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 1:200; Childs, *Isaiah*, 64).

59 So too Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Opening the Sealed Book: Interpretations of the Book of Isaiah in Late Antiquity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 227.

60 A. H. J. Gunneweg, "Heils- und Unheilsverkündigung in Jes. VII," *VT* 15 (1965): 28–31; Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 1:199–200; Motyer, *Isaiah*, 81; Childs, *Isaiah*, 76. Gerhard F. Hasel considers the main exegetical options for the name and concludes the same ("Linguistic Considerations Regarding the Translation of Isaiah's *Shear-Jashub*: A Reassessment," *AUSS* 9 [1971]: 36–46). That vv. 4–9a might be meant to encourage Ahaz (Laato, *Who*, 124) does not remove the sense of threat.

61 Gunneweg contends, based on Isa 6:5–7; 8:11, 17–18 and the logical progress of Isaiah 7, that Shear-Jashub speaks to a remnant *already* within Israel ("Heils-," 28–31). The targumic rendering of Shear-Jashub with past tense verbs provides precedent for this reading: "a remnant *which did not sin and repented from sin*—your *disciples*" (translation from Bruce Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum* [ArBib 11; Wilmington: Glazier, 1987], 16).

62 So too Motyer, *Isaiah*, 82.

63 Watts gets it exactly backwards when he says "the meaning of the entire Vision" is to support Ahaz in accepting Assyrian hegemony because "the Davidic king is no longer destined to be Yahweh's means of ruling the nations" (*Isaiah*, 1:93).

TABLE 1 *The Isaiah 7:8a–9a chiasm*

Isa 7:8a	כִּי רֹאשׁ אֲרָם דְּמִשְׁק וְרֹאשׁ דְּמִשְׁק רִצְיִן
Isa 7:8b	וּבְעוֹד שְׁשִׁים וְחֲמֵשׁ שָׁנָה יַחַת אֲפָרַיִם מֶעֶם
Isa 7:9a	וְרֹאשׁ אֲפָרַיִם שְׁמֶרֶן וְרֹאשׁ שְׁמֶרֶן בְּרִמְלִיָּהּ
Isa 7:8a	For the head of Aram is Damascus and the head of Damascus is Rezin.
Isa 7:8b	And within sixty-five years Ephraim will be shattered from (being) a people.
Isa 7:9a	And the head of Ephraim is Samaria and the head of Samaria the son of Remaliah.

Verses 8a and 9a tell who the head of each nation is, and what that nation's respective capital is. Rezin is head over Damascus in Syria, and the son of Remaliah is head over Samaria in Ephraim (=northern kingdom/Israel). The point is that *neither are Davidic*,⁶⁴ and that *neither rules from Jerusalem*. This is implicit in how Pekah is referred to in verse 9. He is not called by his name as he is in verse 1. He is referred to, instead, in the same way Ahaz is in verse 2: by his dynastic house. Thus, Remaliah is more the focus than Pekah, which stands in contrast to David.⁶⁵ That is to say, their plan will not succeed (v. 7) *because* (again note the כִּי at the start of v. 8) the heads of these nations are anything but Davidic. Between these dynastic descriptions sits the center of the chiasm in 8b. It explains what will happen to them: Ephraim will be shattered. The contrast is seen in that Ephraim, with the son of Remaliah as its head, can and will be shattered; Jerusalem, governed by the house of David, ultimately cannot.⁶⁶ In verse 9b, Ahaz is called to trust that Yahweh will accomplish this. It is the only way he can stand. Thus, verses 7–9 say, in essence, this conspiracy cannot succeed because David's house cannot fall. Verses 10–16 then expand upon this promise and buttress the faith to which Ahaz is called in 9b (hence וַיִּסְּרָ in v. 10).⁶⁷

64 So too Motyer, *Isaiah*, 82; the point is far more than just that these are “two mere men” (pace Paul D. Wegner, “How Many Virgin Births are in the Bible? [Isaiah 7:14]: A Prophetic Pattern Approach,” *JETS* 54 [2011]: 469).

65 Similarly Laato, *Who*, 127.

66 Childs agrees that “undergirding the promise lies the divine covenant made with the house of David (2 Sam. 7:12ff.), which had been directly threatened by the coalition (cf. v. 13)” (*Isaiah*, 64). Evans also hears an allusion to 2 Sam 7:16 in Isa 7:9 (*Matthew*, 45).

67 So too Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 1:204.

The reader concludes, therefore, that the sign of verses 11–15 must somehow address the precarious situation in which Ahaz finds himself (vv. 1, 5–6)⁶⁸ and all the redemptive-historical significance that it entails. Indeed, that the sign is intended to address this same matter is reinforced by the conclusion in 16b, “the land of the two kings which you dread will be deserted.” That the redemptive-historical significance of the whole episode is still foremost is seen in calling Ahaz “the house of David” again in verse 13.⁶⁹ The *house of David* is called to listen.⁷⁰

With that, the reader comes to verse 14 where two dominant contextual themes begin—the son who is born, and the significance of his name Immanuel (“God with us”).⁷¹ The son serves as the sign by which the house of David can know Yahweh will protect it, and his name, Immanuel, provides the theological ramifications for the rest of God’s people.⁷² That is, the name has major ramifications for the entire nation, not only David’s family. Immanuel is a promise that God is with *us*. In context, however, the Immanuel promise is a promise to the *king*. But the name does not signify to Ahaz that Yahweh is with *him*. Immanuel does not mean “God is with *you*.” It means “God is with *us*,” as Isaiah speaks on behalf of all of Judea. Thus, though spoken to the house of David, it is ultimately a pledge to the people. Therefore, the Immanuel promise

68 Scholars are largely in agreement that this demands a fulfillment of the sign in the narrativum near future; see esp. Walton, “Isa 7:14,” 297; Motyer, *Isaiah*, 86, 90–101; Kupp, *Matthew’s Emmanuel*, 163–66; Beaton, *Isaiah’s Christ*, 96; James M. Hamilton Jr, “The Virgin Will Conceive’: Typological Fulfillment in Matthew 1:18–23” in *Built Upon the Rock: Studies in the Gospel of Matthew* (eds. Daniel M. Gurtner and John Nolland; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 230, 236–37.

69 So too Watts, *Isaiah*, 1:97; Walton, “Isa 7:14,” 290; Childs, *Isaiah*, 64.

70 Odil Hannes Steck may be right in seeing these events as hardening Ahaz through Isaiah’s ministry (à la Isa 6:9–13), but that does not alter the focus on the preservation of David’s house as a redemptive-historical institution (“Beiträge zum Verständnis von Jesaja 7:10–17 und 8:1–4,” *TZ* 29 [1973]: 161–78).

71 These themes carry the narrative through Isa 9:6 (Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 1:194–95, 220, 241; Childs, *Isaiah*, 62). It should be remembered, nonetheless, that these are in addition to the Davidic theme.

72 It may be a bit of a distraction from Isaiah’s overall point to spend too much energy on who הַעֲלָמָה is; she seems to be more of a satellite than a kernel (so too Blomberg, *Matthew*, 59–60; pace Motyer, *Isaiah*, 87) given that she does not appear again in the context. Hamilton agrees that the much-discussed nuance of הַעֲלָמָה is immaterial (“Virgin,” 242). More important to the context of Isaiah 7–8 is who the *child* is (so too Childs, *Isaiah*, 66).

is that David's house will be preserved,⁷³ serving as a sign *to the people* that Yahweh is with *them*.⁷⁴ That is, Yahweh is covenantally present with his people *by means of* keeping his word to David and preserving his house. *How can Yahweh's people know he is with them? They know when they see David's house established.* And the way it is established in the context of Isaiah 7 is by removing the threat of the two kings. That is exactly what the son named Immanuel is said to indicate in verse 16.⁷⁵

Verse 17 then introduces to the narrative something entirely unexpected. If verse 1 summarizes the situation and conclusion, and verses 7–9a expand upon the conclusion, and verse 16 reiterates the conclusion, the reader is still left without any knowledge of *how* Yahweh will bring his plan to pass. How will he remove the threat? Verse 17 tells the reader. He will use something more shocking than anything since the days that the two houses of Israel split: he will bring Assyria upon David's enemies!⁷⁶ However shocking, it needs to be remembered that the coming of Assyria is *deliverance* for the house of David, and destruction of the threatening northern kings.⁷⁷ In this the reader again notes the parallel between the people (עַלְמֵמָד) and the dynasty (וְעַל־בֵּית). Their fates are inextricable.

Verses 18–25 contain four parallel pronouncements of judgment, each beginning with בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא (7:18, 20, 21, 23), that explain verse 17 in further detail. Surely “that day” is the day of Assyria. Assyria comes upon “the land of the two kings” (7:16) and removes the threat to David's house.

73 So too Edward E. Hindson who writes, “The purpose of Immanuel seems to be the guarantee for the perpetuity of the endangered throne of David” (*Isaiah's Immanuel: A Sign of His Times or a Sign of the Ages?* [ILPT/BTS; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1978], 50). See also Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (3 vols.; AB 19; New York: Doubleday, 2000–2003), 1:233–34; Carter, “Evoking,” 510; Beaton, *Isaiah's Christ*, 96.

74 In passing Beaton says the child “was to demonstrate God's support, and thereby survival, of the Davidic dynasty, assuring the well-being of the people through the continuing presence of God” (*Isaiah's Christ*, 96).

75 I take v. 15 to mean that these events will happen very soon. And as I argue below, this salvation for the house of David will not come without equal judgment upon those opposed to David. Thus the curds and honey, as in v. 22, symbolize a depopulated region (Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 1:212).

76 Motyer calls the entrance of Assyria “a new factor” (*Isaiah*, 87). Seitz calls deliverance by the hand of Assyria “a stroke of irony” (*Isaiah* 1–39, 12).

77 Pace Carter, this is not a blanket polemic against imperialism in general; the focus is on preserving David's house, ironically through the Assyrian *empire* (“Evoking,” 510–13; *Storyteller*, 111).

Assyria's removal of the two northern kings, whereby the house of David is spared, is thus the fulfillment of the Immanuel promise. This is explicated further in 8:1–4. In verses 1–3 the son is born in fulfillment of Isa 7:14.⁷⁸ The reader equates Maher-Shalal-Hash-Baz with Immanuel to make the most economical sense of the literary context. (1) He is a son born in the subsequent context following 7:14—it simply reads naturally to equate these two sons. (2) His birth fulfills the temporal immediacy required by the situation—he has to be born during Ahaz's lifetime, roughly contemporaneous with the northern kings' demise.⁷⁹ And (3) his name represents protection for the house of David (v. 4)—the northern kings are looted and therefore no longer a threat to Ahaz. Both sons have all three of these elements in common which points to the latter as a fulfillment of the former.⁸⁰ Thus chapter 8 provides the resolution to chapter 7. Granted, the son in 8:1–4 has a different name than the one in 7:14. All the same, according to 8:4 he still represents the confidence that the Assyrian king will remove the threat to David.⁸¹ And the child's name signifies

78 So too Norman K. Gottwald, "Immanuel as the Prophet's Son," *VT* 8 (1958): 36–47; Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (trans. D. M. G. Stalker; 2 vols.; New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 2:173–74; Herbert M. Wolf, "A Solution to the Immanuel Prophecy in Isaiah 7:14–8:22," *JBL* 91 (1972): 449–56; Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 1:209–13, 220; Hamilton, "Virgin," 236–38; Keener, *Matthew*, 87.

79 The equation of Hezekiah with Immanuel (Str-B 1:75; Seitz, *Isaiah* 1–39, 60–75) fails on these first two points. Hezekiah is (1) not mentioned in the immediate literary context, and (2) already born according to the historical context (a problem Seitz, [*Isaiah* 1–39, 65, 69–70] recognizes; see also Goldingay, *Isaiah*, 41). It also seems that this interpretation is too heavily bound up in theories of how and why Isaiah was redacted (see Laato, *Who*, 117–36, 156–59; R. E. Clements, "The Immanuel Prophecy of Isa. 7:10–17 and Its Messianic Interpretation," in *Die Hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte: Festschrift für Rolf Rendtorff zum 65. Geburtstag* [eds. Erhard Blum, Christian Macholz, and Ekkehard W. Stegemann; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1990], 238–39).

80 Admittedly this reading struggles to fit the "prophetess" with the definition of הַעֲלִמָּה of 7:14 any way it is taken, virgin or young maiden (Motyer, *Isaiah*, 87). But of the various interpretive options, it still makes the most economical sense of the text. Walton's objection that these are two different children ("Isa 7:14," 296) depends on an untenable interpretation that the woman of 7:14 is already pregnant and too rigid a distinction between the time spans indicated in 7:16 and 8:4, not to mention a subjective understanding of when a child comprehends right and wrong. The point remains that both of these names assure Ahaz—and the house of David—that the coalition against him will not last long.

81 This protection of David's house is the most significant point in the discourse; compare 7:2, 6, 13, 16; 8:4. Therefore, even if these sons are different persons (R. E. Clements, *Isaiah* 1–39 [NCentBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980], 86; J. J. M. Roberts, "Isaiah and His Children," *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry* [eds. Ann Kort and

the swift removal of the northern kings' booty,⁸² exactly what the house of David and its people need in light of 7:1, 5–6.

Not everyone in Judah will benefit from this salvation, however. Rather, according to 8:8, a division of the people results from these events. The “waters of Shiloah” (8:6) are symbolic of the Davidic monarch and Yahweh's choice of Jerusalem (cf. 1 Kgs 1:33–34, 45).⁸³ The people referred to in verse 6 most naturally read as the people of Samaria in verse 4, not Judah.⁸⁴ The reason for their destruction, as mentioned throughout chapter 7 and here again in 8:6, is their defiance against the house of David and alliance with non-Davidic kings. They have no confidence in Yahweh's king, and therefore reject Yahweh's plan. Thus in preserving the house of David, Yahweh destroys the northern kings who do not align themselves with the Davidic king; the residual effect is that the judgment sweeps into Judah itself (v. 8). Presumably from the context, this means there are those opposed to David in Judah as well. All those who “reject the waters of Shiloh,” regardless of where they live, are judged. Thus the Immanuel sign is not a sign of deliverance for everyone; those without faith in Yahweh's plan through David are judged along with the northern kingdom when it is overrun by Assyria.⁸⁵ This “river” of destruction in verse 7, however, will only come up to Judah's “neck” in verse 8.⁸⁶ “Immanuel” marks salvation for the house of David (hence the judgment only up to the “neck” and the preservation of the head) and those with confidence in Yahweh's promises.⁸⁷ David's house and those who trust in Yahweh's promises to David—indeed promises to *them* through David—are saved; David's enemies are judged.

Scott Morschauser; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1985], 193–203; Walton, “Isa 7:14,” 296; Clements, “Immanuel,” 226, 230–32; Carter, “Evoking,” 510–11) the point of what they symbolize remains the same in light of 7:16 and 8:4 (so too Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 1:220; Motyer, *Isaiah*, 86; Childs, *Isaiah*, 71; Keener, *Matthew*, 87).

82 So too Seitz, *Isaiah* 1–39, 78.

83 Motyer, *Isaiah*, 91.

84 Ibid.

85 Motyer says the importance of this section “is that it brings this to the point of definition in the doctrine of the remnant . . . a distinction between the secularized, politicized professing people of God and those, within that people, who turn to him in repentance and faith, who look to his word and obey it” (*Isaiah*, 92). Moreover it is Yahweh's very presence that presses the populace to a point of differentiation.

86 This is most likely why a remnant is spoken of in 7:3—though the house of David will be spared, there will nonetheless be some destruction in Judah.

87 Several scholars understand the Immanuel sign carrying different consequences for different groups (even if there is little agreement regarding into which group Ahaz fits). See esp. Kupp, *Emmanuel*, 163–66.

Thus, Isaiah still has confidence that Yahweh will spare the house of David, and brags about it to the nations in verses 9–10. This confidence in the face of a new threat is held in place by the Immanuel promise, brought again to the reader's attention in verses 8 and 10. Indeed, the very reason Isaiah has this confidence is because (כי) "God is with us" in verse 10.⁸⁸ In 8:11–22 Isaiah is warned not to fear as the people do, but to trust (indeed *fear*) Yahweh (מִוֶּרָאֶכֶם; 8:13) and is informed of what happens to those who (fear yet) turn from trusting in Yahweh.⁸⁹

By way of summary so far, the promise of Immanuel is either judgment or salvation depending on one's posture toward the house of David. Immanuel means the promise that Yahweh is "with" his people when they see him preserve the house of David. But Immanuel also means judgment for all those opposed to the house of David.⁹⁰

Interestingly, 8:23 [EB 9:1] then turns the narrative to a day beyond Isaiah's: even though the northern kingdom is conquered and exiled, a day of restoration and regathering awaits.⁹¹ It is important to note here that the northern tribes are not forgotten. Though the north is Judah's enemy, Isaiah (like other prophets) considers Yahweh's people to include both kingdoms.⁹² David had a right to rule over the north too, for the promise was such that a son would rule over David's entire kingdom (2 Sam 7:12–13, 16), even over the entire world (Psalm 2). Isaiah 9:5–6 [6–7] then forecasts this restoration and reunion in the language of the initial Immanuel prophecy. Thus, Isaiah takes his own prophecy of immediate events and reorients it to a time when another child will be brought forth (בְּיִלֵּד יֵלֵד בֶּן נָתַן); note the similar verb for "born" and noun for "son" used in 7:14 and 8:3) who will sit on the throne of David (בִּסֵּא דָוִד), this time forever (עַד-עוֹלָם).⁹³ Again, the inextricable tie that binds the state

88 The conjunction in v. 10, כי, shows this is not a negative, sarcastic use of Immanuel in either vv. 8 or 10 (so Bartelt, *Book*, 116).

89 See Arie van der Kooij for the differences between the MT and LXX of Isa 8:11–16 ("The Septuagint of Isaiah," in *The Book of Isaiah/Le livre d'Isaïe: Les oracles et leurs relectures. Unité et complexité de l'ouvrage* [ed. Jacques Vermeylen; BETL 81; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989], 127–33).

90 Furthermore, there is a global scope to vv. 9–10; the entire world's response to the house of David comes under scrutiny (so too Bartelt, *Book*, 116; Childs, *Isaiah*, 73).

91 So too Motyer, *Isaiah*, 87.

92 Donald E. Gowan, *Theology of the Prophetic Books: The Death and Resurrection of Israel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 70. This concern for the north is seen in Isa 9:7–11:16 as well.

93 Seeing that the identity of the child and הָעֵלְמָה are related, I conclude (with Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 1:210–11, 220; Blomberg, *Matthew*, 60) that הָעֵלְמָה also has a short-term and a long-term focus.

of the house of David to Yahweh's people is highlighted in 9:5 where it is twice said that this son will be born "for us" (לָנוּ).⁹⁴ Hence Isaiah expands his own prophecy for the immediate future into a prophecy of a more distant time in similar language but with much grander results.⁹⁵ That is, Isaiah uses his own prophecy and fulfillment thereof as a template for future greater realities when north and south are reunited under David's consummate son.⁹⁶ Prophecy and fulfillment together form a hendiadys for seeing the future in a way that the shape of both, the original prophecy and original fulfillment, will be surpassed in scope and permanence.⁹⁷

To summarize, in Isaiah 7 the house of David is threatened, and therefore so is Yahweh's covenant. Yahweh promises, through the Immanuel-child, to be with his people *by* preserving David's house in that historical situation. Those

94 Isaiah 9 is addressed at greater length in chapter seven.

95 Clements says the way the material is put together in 9:2–7 results in "significant reinterpretation of the Immanuel prophecy of Isaiah 7:10–17" ("Immanuel," 238). Motyer also sees the Immanuel prophecy "interlaced with tensions on the topic of the time fulfillment . . . it has as its context the times of the Assyrian (see 7:17ff.; 8:8; 9:1ff.; 10:34–11:1). But equally it seems to belong to the undated future" ("Context," 124). Hagner points out that, because of the nature of the name "Immanuel" and surrounding texts like Isa 2:2–4; 9:2–7; 11:1–16, later generations of Jewish interpreters understood Isa 7:14 to "speak of the dawn of the promised golden age" (*Matthew*, 1:20). Thus, H. G. M. Williamson may be too hasty to conclude that "a long-range messianic prediction is ruled out" (*Variations on a Theme: King, Messiah and Servant in the Book of Isaiah* [Carlisle, Cumbria: Paternoster, 1998], 109). Seitz says it is "wrong to drive too sharp a wedge between 'historical' and 'eschatological' readings. The one requires the other" (*Isaiah* 1–39, 44). He goes on: "It is virtually impossible to read the Immanuel passages in the light of 9:2–7 and not catch the clear connections that exist as a consequence of the present organization of the material. . . . An episode from the past is used to speak to the future" (*ibid.*, 74). Childs also adds, "When this oracle was placed within the context of [Isaiah's] larger literary corpus, there emerges with great force a relentless openness to the future, which has been propelled forward by an eschatological vision of the whole creation within the one divine purpose for Israel" (*Isaiah*, 76).

96 Blomberg suggests that the LXX rendering of הֵעָלְמָה as ἡ παρθένος shows that subsequent readers of Isaiah caught this association between the child in Isaiah 7 and Isaiah 9 ("Matthew," 4).

97 Thus, in regards to Isa 7:14, it is wrong to say that "messianic allusions could be insinuated only where some uncertainty or ambiguity in the original left room for them" (Blenkinsopp, *Opening*, 267). By expanding his prophecy in 7:14 to include the messianic age in 9:5–6 [9:6–7] Isaiah has left nothing uncertain nor ambiguous. It is also unnecessary to choose between seeing the Immanuel sign as one of contemporary importance to Ahaz or an eschatological hope (*pace* Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12: A Commentary* [trans. Thomas H. Trapp; CC; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991], 318).

who trust in Yahweh's plan through David are also preserved, but those who oppose David are judged. Isaiah then expands the entire event—threat, promise through the birth of a son, and deliverance—into a prophecy for the distant future with eschatological ramifications for Yahweh's covenant people.⁹⁸ This is what Matthew generates when he calls Jesus "Immanuel."

Matthew's Conversation with Isaiah

The Matthean and Isaianic contexts share common concerns. They are not, however, the problem of Ahaz's alliance with Assyria nor imperialism in general. These issues are foregrounded neither in Isaiah nor Matthew. Rather, both texts address the concern that Yahweh's promises to David (cf. 2 Samuel 7) could possibly come to naught—either by the removal of Ahaz (Isaiah 7) or by exile that never seems to end (Matt 1:1–17, 21). At the same time both Isaiah and Matthew address what the neglect of these promises would mean for Yahweh's people.⁹⁹ In Isaiah 7–8 the people face devastation if Yahweh's promises to David fail. In Matthew 1, they languish in exile permanently if these same promises are forgotten altogether. Both mean a crisis of covenantal identity for the people. Yet, in Isaiah 7–8 the promise of preservation is only made to those who trust in Yahweh's plan through David's house and therefore align themselves therewith. For those in Israel opposed to David's house, exile is the consequence. Thus the threat is more internal than external. Such is Isaiah's contribution, generated into and amplified over Matthew 1.

In the end, Matthew and Isaiah conspire to identify the people of God in the language of Yahweh's promises to the house of David vis-à-vis the exile. Judging by the concerns in Matthew 1, *Isaiah 7 is highlighted as the turning point for David's house and the start of exile for its enemies*, even those within Israel. Yahweh's true people, on the other hand, in both Isaiah 7–8 and Matthew 1 can know that God is with them *when they see a Davidic king on the throne*, despite the threat by Pekah and Rezin and seemingly permanent absence of David's heir during the nation's exile. With the birth of Jesus, David's throne is re-established, and the people can know that Yahweh is covenantally with them through his faithfulness to David's house, creating the expectation that the

98 Isaiah 9:7–11:16 rehearses the same basic narrative (Motyer, *Isaiah*, 24), with the focus more on the north's sins and cause for their own exile.

99 This was Jerome's insight as well; see n. 3.

exile will soon end for “his people” (to be defined in Matthew 2, as in Isaiah 8, as those who do not oppose, but submit to David’s house).¹⁰⁰

This ecclesiological focus is emphasized by Matthew’s alteration of Isaiah’s voice through the use of *καλέσουσιν*. No source text, as far as we are aware, uses that word; it seems to be Matthew’s unique contribution.¹⁰¹ Therefore it strikes the reader. The effect of the change is to emphasize that “his people” of 1:21 are the ones who call Jesus “Immanuel.” To call him by this name, therefore, is an ecclesiological emblem.

It appears, then, that Isa 7:14 functions in Matt 1:23 very much the same way as it does in Isaiah 7–8. In the former, the Immanuel prophecy was fulfilled as David’s house was preserved and spared from exile. In Matthew 1 it is fulfilled as David’s house is re-established after exile. Both are reassuring signs that Yahweh is with his people—thus the covenantal signifier “Immanuel.” Says Beaton, “Both passages associate the child with the presence of God among the people to save and deliver.”¹⁰² Thus Mary’s virginity is not an end in itself, but a vehicle to evoke images of Yahweh’s promises to David.¹⁰³ The virgin points to something about David’s house: in Isaiah 7–8 it is the narrow escape from death; in Matthew 1 it is the restoration to life after death.

Thus, Matthew retells the same story in different shades, and pulls Isaiah in to help. The plot is fundamentally the same with different characters but organically related events. Matthew can do this not only through typological correspondence, but by virtue of the way Isaiah himself expands his own prophecy in Isaiah 9. As argued above, Isaiah turns his prophecy concerning immediate historic events into a type whereby the prophecy and immediate fulfillment together form a shadow of greater future realities. These greater realities can be recognized by the consistent (even repetitious) nature of God’s divine plan. Therefore, Matthew has employed a “prophecy-turned-typology” hermeneutic, which he learned from Isaiah himself.¹⁰⁴ David’s house, now

100 As Wright says, “He is Emmanuel, Israel’s god in person, coming to be with his people as they emerge from their long exile” (*New Testament*, 389).

101 Pace Strecker, *Weg*, 55. It is commonly agreed that Matthew’s theology required the change (so Stendahl, *School*, 98; Soares Prabhu, *Formula*, 229, 239; Beaton, *Isaiah’s Christ*, 86, 90, 94; France, *Matthew*, 44, 58). See the appendix for a response to Strecker’s *testimonia* hypothesis.

102 Beaton, *Isaiah’s Christ*, 95.

103 Nolland suggests a similar idea, offering 2 Sam 7:9; 1 Kgs 1:37; 11:38; Ps 89:21, 24 (*Matthew*, 102).

104 That Matthew recognized this move in Isaiah is buttressed by his use of the language of Isa 8:8 (μεθ’ ἡμῶν ὁ θεός) and his quotation of Isa 8:23–9:1 in Matt 4:15–16. He ends his prologue where he begins, and the parts of Isaiah’s “prophecy-turned-typology” become

in the end-of-exile eschaton of Isaiah 9, is established again, and therefore Yahweh is with his people.¹⁰⁵ Matthew thus takes up the story of Isaiah 7–8 and claims that Isaiah's own expansion thereupon in Isaiah 9 is fulfilled in Jesus and "his people." In doing so he not only quotes the beginning of this prophetic matrix of events, but invokes the entire story surrounding the original prophecy and brings it into his own story.¹⁰⁶

The result is that a «David» frame is selected that creates an expectation for the reader that the following story will elucidate how the exile will end and how the people of God will be reunited under the new David. This expectation suites well the ongoing exile setting established by the genealogy.¹⁰⁷

Matthew leaves his conversation with Isaiah unresolved in one regard: Who opposes David, and when will they be judged? For the reader, this is an empty frame that the rest of Matthew's narrative will have to fill. For the time being, the question has to be tabled.

In sum, the reader hears a reciprocal conversation between Matthew and Isaiah. Concerns surrounding unfulfilled Davidic promises vis-à-vis the exile bring Matthew's reader to find hope for Jesus' people in Isaiah 7–9. As David's throne faced the precarious situation of looming exile then, so it lingers in an enduring exile now. The episode concludes with an account of what this means for Jesus' people: Yahweh is with them (1:23). Thus Matthew employs Isaiah 7–9 to resolve the redemptive-historical tension of the status of David's throne vis-à-vis the exile, and to give "his people" an identity, placing them squarely

the inclusio for the introduction of Jesus before he begins his public ministry in Matt 4:17. Seen, therefore, in the broader contexts of both Isaiah 7–9 and Matthew 1–4, I have to disagree with S. V. McCasland when he says Matthew employs "a misinterpreted passage" ("Matthew Twists the Scriptures," *JBL* 80 [1961]: 145). I also have to disagree with McConnell when he says, "In every case of the formula quotations the original meaning of the quotations and its context has been ignored" (*Law*, 137). It is exactly *in view of the original meaning and context* that the quotation works in Matthew 1! Lybæk is also wrong when she avers that Matthew's reverence for Scripture is "not located . . . in the original context of the passages which the evangelist cites" (*New and Old*, 42). I find quite the opposite. It is the very contexts of these OT quotations that illumine Matthew's use of them.

105 Thus, comments like Watts's that Matthew's hermeneutic "allowed verses to be separated from their context" (*Isaiah*, 1:103) appear to be unwarranted. Hamilton contends that an erroneous definition of "fulfillment" in Matthew has led to the widespread belief that Matthew cared nothing for OT contexts ("Virgin," 230).

106 Kirk argues that such an appropriation of Israel's story in Jesus' ministry is what Matthew means by fulfillment ("Fulfillment," 77–98).

107 The expectation is redoubled when the reader attends to the Ezekielian intertexture in 1:21 (cf. n. 41 above).

inside Yahweh's redemptive plan for the ages. In fact, it places them at the very center of that plan as the continuation of David's people.¹⁰⁸ That which Yahweh was doing at the beginning of the north's exile to preserve David's house is brought to completion at the end of the exile to establish it forever.

Summary and Conclusion

After setting the narrative context as one of ongoing exile (through the genealogy), Matthew has infused his narrative world with a voice from Isaiah's narrative world. The result is an oral-scribal intertexture that generates the Isaianic context and casts a hermeneutical light over the Matthean context, selecting a «David» within the theological context of exile. Through an examination of the theological concerns of Matthew 1 and a discourse analysis of Isa 7:1–9:6, I conclude that this hermeneutical light is one that emphasizes the status of Yahweh's promises to David's house vis-à-vis the exile, and what it means for those faithful to the Davidic heir.

The Reign of David (Matthew 28:16–20)

While it is not yet possible to suggest how the prologue-quotations as a group shed hermeneutical light on the entire gospel, one particular passage cannot escape consideration at this point. Matthean scholars commonly observe the connection between the beginning and the end of the gospel, particularly $\mu\epsilon\theta' \eta\mu\omega\upsilon \acute{o} \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ of 1:23 and $\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega \mu\epsilon\theta' \eta\mu\omega\upsilon$ of 28:20.¹⁰⁹ Scarce in the literature, however, is a Davidic reading of Matt 28:16–20.¹¹⁰ The promise of divine

108 Similarly, see Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:213.

109 Cf. esp. Charles H. Lohr, "Oral Techniques in the Gospel of Matthew," *CBQ* 23 (1961): 408–410; Bruce J. Malina, "The Literary Form and Structure of Matt. XXVIII. 16–20," *NTS* 17 (1970–1971): 99–101; Frankemölle, *Jahwebund*, 7–21, 42–83, 321–25; Bauer, *Structure*, 124–27; Kupp, *Matthew's Emmanuel*, 100–108, 219, 239–40; Beaton, *Isaiah's Christ*, 94 and bibliog. in n. 35; Luz, *Matthew*, 3:620–21, 634; Hood, *Messiah*, 142–48; Richard B. Hays, *Reading Backwards: Figural Christology and the Fourfold Gospel Witness* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2014), 43–51.

110 Ulrich Luz, in fact, contends that a Davidic theology is entirely absent in Matthew 26–28 (*Studies in Matthew* [trans. Rosemary Selle; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005], 87–88). Ferdinand-Rupert Prostmeier demonstrates otherwise with a Davidic reading of "son" language in the trial and crucifixion ("Der 'Nachkomme Davids': Deutungen und Bedeutungen für die Christologie," in *Steht nicht geschrieben?: Studien zur Bibel und ihrer Wirkungsgeschichte; Festschrift für Georg Schmuttermayr* [ed. Johannes Frühwald-König; Regensburg: Pustet, 2001], 209–36). See also Chae's "Davidic Shepherd" reading of the

presence originates in the quotation of Isaiah (1:23) through which the «David» frame is selected. It is, therefore, an icon of the «David» frame. The language of divine presence, then, returns in force in 28:20 and influences the reader to interpret the context in Davidic terms. That is, when the icon reappears it has already been identified as one of the distinctive features of that frame. The frame, then, provides guidance for reading the text coherently and, therefore, cogently. In short, the “with you” icon in 28:20 actualizes the «David» frame for reading the surrounding context.¹¹¹

In this case a Davidic interpretation of the commission illuminates verses 18–19. On what basis can Jesus say he has “all authority in heaven and on earth?” What is the theological rationale behind such a claim? The «David» frame helps.¹¹² The reader understands from the cultural encyclopedia that David’s house is not only expected to rule over Israel (2 Sam 7:12–17; Pss. Sol. 17:4), but also over all the nations (Psalm 2; cf. also 4Q369) as Yahweh’s “son.” Seen in this light, the end of the gospel comprises Matthew’s perspective on Yahweh’s deliverance on this promise.¹¹³ Matthew 28:18 is Jesus’ proclamation, after the resurrection, that he is Yahweh’s royal son, his “king set on Zion” per Ps 2:6. On what grounds can Jesus send his disciples into πάντα τὰ

resurrection and commission (*Jesus*, 327–71). Also, Hood draws out the David motif by tracing themes in the commission back to the genealogy (*Messiah*, 153–55). Terence L. Donaldson seems to stand alone in seeing Ps 2:8–9 behind the commission; his hook is the setting on τὸ ὄρος (*Jesus on the Mountain: A Study in Matthean Theology* [JSNTSup 8; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1985], 180–83, 188–89, 198–99). See also France, *Matthew*, 1113.

111 Significantly, Kupp also identifies the Davidic impulse of the language of divine presence in the OT; cf. 2 Sam 7:8–17; 23:1–7; 1 Kgs 8:46–53; 9:2–9; Psalms 2; 46; 48; 76; 89; 132 (*Matthew’s Emmanuel*, 130–37).

112 To be sure, the reading I am offering is not exclusive, and I do not demur a background in Dan 7:13–14 (cf. *inter alia* Gundry, *Use*, 147; Evans, *Matthew*, 483) or 2 Chr 36:23 (cf. Malina, “Structure,” 93–96; Frankemölle, *Jahwebund*, 53–61). Chae is right, however, that the latter seems insufficient for understanding Jesus’ reign over all the nations (*Jesus*, 348). His own reading of an Ezekiel 34–37 background takes more of the pericope’s fine points into account: “authority,” “teaching,” “outreach to the nations,” and “the divine presence” (*ibid.*, 347–69). See also Mark F. Whitters for a new covenant background to Matt 28:16–20 (“In the Footsteps of Jeremiah,” *CBQ* 68 [2006]: 229–47).

113 In 2 Sam 7:16 Yahweh promises David that one of his seed will rule over his kingdom (MT: וְיִשְׁלַח יְהוָה בְּיָדְךָ אֶת-יְהוֹשֻׁעַ; LXX: ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ) forever (MT: עַד-וָעַד; LXX: ἕως αἰῶνος). Matthew consistently speaks of the arrival of the kingdom (ἡ βασιλεία; Matt 3:2; 4:17 et al.), and finally of how Jesus, as the heir to David’s throne, will abide over it forever (ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος) in Matt 28:20. The fulfillment of Psalm 2 is seen in that Jesus is thrice called the God’s son (Ps 2:7; Matt 3:17; 17:5) and is often opposed throughout the narrative (cf. Ps 2:1–3).

ἔθνη (28:19)? The «David» frame helps again. The nations, spread as far as the ends of the earth (τῆς γῆς; v. 18), are exactly what the “son” is promised at his installation in Ps 2:8.¹¹⁴ Indeed, submission to the newly installed “son” (Ps 2:7) is precisely what the kings and rulers of the earth (τῶν γῆν) are advised to do in Ps 2:10–12.¹¹⁵ The spread of Jesus’ disciples to all the nations in their teaching mission (Matt 28:19) is, then, the expression of Jesus’ post-Easter universal dominion. His doctrine, now on the lips of his disciples, is the means by which he rules the nations. Prior thereunto the disciples had only been able to go πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ (10:5–6).¹¹⁶ Now that he has been resurrected and installed as the potentate over *all* the kings and rulers of the earth (cf. Ps 2:8–10), Yahweh’s “son” can exercise his universal authority through the teaching mission of his disciples.¹¹⁷

To be sure, a “catena of allusions” can align within Matt 28:16–20, most prominently from Gen 1:1; 12:3; 49:10; Exod 7:2; Josh 1:1–2, 7; 2 Chr 36:23; Jer 31:31–34; Ezek 34:23–30; 37:25–28; Dan 2:37, 44; 4:37; 7:13–14.¹¹⁸ I argue that the «David» frame selected by Matthew’s first prologue-quotation adds theological concepts from 2 Samuel 7 and Psalm 2 to that lineup. Thus, at the beginning and end of Matthew’s narrative Davidic redemptive-historical concerns are foregrounded.¹¹⁹

114 Note the tandem of key words in Matt 28:18–19, ἔθνος and γῆ, that reoccur throughout LXX Psalm 2 (vv. 1, 2, 8, and 10). The combination of rule in heaven (οὐρανός) and earth (γῆ) in Matt 28:18 is also prominent motif in the Psalm, esp. vv. 4, 8–9.

115 Hood is right to link this Davidic impulse back to the exilic concerns of the genealogy when he suggests that “the problem of exile is perhaps in some measure obviated. . . . The son of David and Judah, the royal Christ of Israel, claims authority over Israel and the whole earth, in fulfilment of the promises to David and Abraham” (*Messiah*, 155).

116 Nolland also sees the resurrection as the grounds for Jesus’ new authority vis-à-vis Matt 10:5 (*Matthew*, 1264–66).

117 But to be sure, this is not a new commission, nor should the reader perceive a break between the commissions of chs. 10 and 28. Rather, “Matthew sees a connection in the Old Testament history of promise—Matthean universalism is based in Israel, and conversely, for Matthew, Israel has been directed toward the nations since Abraham. Matthew anchors the extension of the ministry of salvation to the nations in Israel’s history of salvation by indicating that God’s history with Israel was aimed toward this goal from the very beginning” (Konradt, *Israel*, 307).

118 Cf. W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison Jr., “Matt 28:16–20: Texts Behind the Text,” *RHPR* 72 (1992): 89–98.

119 The language of Psalm 2 is also employed at the major pivot in Matt 16:16 (ὁ χριστός and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ; cf. Ps 2:2, 7). Unfortunately space limits us from discussing the Abrahamic emphasis in the genealogy and epilogue, the worship of Jesus in Matt 2:2, 8, 11 and 28:17,

Would that we could linger on the hermeneutical influence of Matthew's first prologue-quotation on the rest of the gospel. But the above suggestion will have to suffice for now. Returning to the prologue at this point, the use of Micah 5 in Matthew 2 provides further reflection on the nations' response to Jesus, and selects (again) a «David» frame, this time added to an «end-of-exile» frame as well.

and the affinities 1 Chronicles 1–9 has with Matthew's genealogy, and 2 Chr 36:22–23 with Matt 28:16–20 (on the latter see Frankemölle, *Jahwebund*, 53–61).

The Effect of Micah's Narrative World in Matthew 2:1–12

In the previous chapter I argue that the evangelist has established the setting of his narrative as one of ongoing exile, defined as a time when Israel is without a Davidic king. Then in 1:23, Matthew generates Isaiah 7:1–9:6 where the resultant intertextual conversation selects a «David» frame, one specifically concerned with the status of David's house in regard to the exile. Those who align with the house of David are Yahweh's true covenant people, whereas those who rebel will be judged.

The narrative continues in Matt 2:1–12 where the «David» and «end-of-exile» frames are reinforced as the reader meets some main characters of Matthew's *dramatis personae*.¹ Four new characters/character groups are introduced: the magi, Herod, “all of Jerusalem/the people,” and “all the chief priests and scribes.” The characterization of these four selects the same frames that chapter one did: «David» and «end-of-exile». In the course of events, “all the chief priests and scribes” are associated with Herod, while “the people” play a passive role, pulled between the old king, Herod, in league with the priests and scribes on the one hand, and on the other, the new king, Jesus, and those performing priestly worship of him, the magi. In the middle of the drama Mic 5:1, 3 [EB 5:2, 4] is quoted by the chief priests and scribes, serving to further Matthew's ecclesiological agenda in terms of the restoration of Jesus' people (cf. 1:21) from exile through the enthronement of the eschatological Davidide. Thus, again, the reader sees Jesus as the rightful king of Israel and that his advent anticipates the end of the exile for “his people.”²

1 Not only reinforced, Tertullian argues that Matt 2:1–12 completes the *contextual* reading of Isa 7:14 initiated in Matt 1:23. In the magi “the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria” (Isa 8:4) are brought to the Davidic heir (*Adv. Jud.* 9). Indeed, “not of ‘Samaria’ alone, but of all nations as well” (trans. from *ANF* 3:160–64). All that goes to say, the frames selected in Matthew 1 are still operable in Matthew 2.

2 Luther's comment on Micah 5 is suggestive: “So here the prophet is describing the definite place, just as other prophets described the time when this King was going to come, namely, after the Babylonian captivity. The person, then, is Christ; the place, Bethlehem; the time after the Babylonian captivity” (“Lectures on Micah: The Altenburg Text,” in *Lectures on the Minor Prophets I* [ed. Hilton C. Oswald; trans. Richard J. Dinda; vol. 18 of *Luther's Works*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan et al.; St. Louis: Concordia, 1975), 247. In saying “how Matt. 2:6 quoted this

In all, this pericope creates a tense atmosphere of expectation and foreboding. Who are these magi? Given that they do not appear again in the narrative, the reader is left to surmise that their narrative function is one of context setting. That they have come to *worship* creates high expectations for the ensuing narrative. Yet, at the same time Herod, the priests and scribes, and the people do not do anything wrong per se, but their actions are peculiar and create a tense atmosphere that is not lost on the reader, especially in the closing line where the magi are warned not to return to Herod.³ Beyond that, nonetheless, the reader does not know what Herod specifically has in mind. Micah 5:1, 3, however, fills in the narrative gaps by selecting frames that elucidate who these characters are in redemptive-historical terms, and what to expect from the ensuing narrative. Through the quotation the reader not only perceives Jesus as the Davidic king who will end the exile for his people, but also as the one who relocates the locus of worship out of the Jerusalem temple to himself. The rest of the characters are correspondingly painted in exile and restoration strokes with an old temple/new temple dynamic.

Matthew 2:6 in Context

Through the use of γεννάω (cf. 1:1, 18), Matt 2:1 orients the reader to the previous pericopae and sets the geography (in Bethlehem of Judea) and time (in the days of King Herod). The focus on Bethlehem keeps the Davidic theology at the fore.⁴ Locating Bethlehem in Judea does the same.⁵ Furthermore, the reader is brought to remember the specific narrative amplified over Matthew's text: Isaiah 7–8 (Isa 7:1 reads ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἀχάζ). Thus, the subnarrative of the

passage in a different way" (ibid.), Luther means the differences between the Hebrew and Greek texts ("Gospel for the Day of the Wise Men," in *The Church Postil II* [ed. Benjamin T. G. Mayes and James L. Langebartels; vol. 76 of *Luther's Works*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan et al.; St. Louis: Concordia, 2013], 93–95).

3 Herod's villainy is not revealed until 2:13, 16; the reader should not get too far ahead just yet or some of the tension of 2:1–12 will be lost.

4 So too Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:26; France, *Matthew*, 61.

5 So too Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:26. See also David R. Bauer for more contextual indicators that keep Jesus' kingship front and center ("The Kingship of Jesus in the Matthean Infancy Narrative: A Literary Analysis," *CBQ* 57 [1995]: 309–13). Specifically concerning Jesus as the true Davidide, see Joel Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King: In Search of 'The Lost Sheep of the House of Israel'* (BZNW 147; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 97–115.

threat to David's throne continues.⁶ The ensuing passage consists of five subsections that comprise a chiasm, each of which focuses on a single character or character group. The magi are the subjects in the first and the last subsections, 2:1b–2 and 2:9–12; Herod is the subject and his actions the focus in the second and the fourth, 2:3–4 and 2:7–8; the chief priests and scribes are the subjects in the third, 2:5–6 (the *οἱ* in v. 5 surely refers back to the priests and scribes in v. 4).

TABLE 2 *The Matthew 2:7b–12 chiasm*

Matt 2:1b–2	a) Magi arrive in Jerusalem
Matt 2:3–4	b) Herod is troubled
Matt 2:5–6	c) Priests and scribes quote Micah 5:1, 3
Matt 2:7–8	b') Herod inquires
Matt 2:9–12	a') Magi arrive in Bethlehem

This does two things. It moves the story's setting and theological focus from Jerusalem to Bethlehem as the magi move from the former to the latter, and it places the chief priests and scribes' quotation of Micah 5 at the center of the chiasm. This heightens the significance of the quotation and its ability to shine an interpretive light over the pericope. To discuss this passage I will start with the outside of this chiasm and move to the center.⁷

The Magi (Matthew 2:7b–2, 9–12)

The magi's role in the story is brief, yet provocative. Having come from the east, they are unexpected characters (seen in the ἰδοὺ of v. 1) when they arrive in Jerusalem. They inquire where the recently born "king of the Jews" is, to the end that they might worship him (vv. 1–2), before fading quickly to the background. They are summoned to meet with Herod (vv. 7–8), and finally arrive at their destination (vv. 9–10) to accomplish their goal (v. 11) before departing by

6 Gnllka says chs. 1–2 are united by "Sohn Davids und Sohn Gottes . . . leitmotivisch zentrale Anliegen" (*Matthäusevangelium*, 1:42).

7 While André Paul does not place the quotation of Micah 5 at the center of a chiasm, he nonetheless affirms a clear theological movement from Jerusalem to Bethlehem in the structure of Matt 2:1–12 in that every question asked in Jerusalem—2:2, 4, 8—finds its answer in reference to Bethlehem—2:9, 11, 12 (*Évangile de l'enfance selon Saint Matthieu* [2d ed.; Paris: Cerf, 1984], 97–100).

a different route (v. 12), out of the story for good. Because they appear and exit the narrative so quickly, never to return, there is not much characterization to speak of. The magi's role in the story, then, is one of context setting. To this end, three observations attract the reader's attention: the magi affirm Jesus' status as the king of the Jews (just as Matthew's genealogy does); they themselves are most likely Gentiles; they have come to Jerusalem to worship with gifts. These events reinforce the end-of-exile context established in chapter one.

First, the magi's affirmation of Jesus' kingship is important for understanding the theological context. The images of Isaiah 7–8, evoked in the previous pericope, remain in view: a pretend-king threatens David's house. In Isaiah 7 it was "the son of Tabeel," the puppet king of Rezin and Pekah. In Matthew 2 it is Herod.⁸ Interestingly enough, Herod is called "king" three times (Matt 2:1, 3, 9), but the magi come asking for the *king* of the Jews (2:2).⁹ Yet as the story progresses "King" Herod is increasingly referred to as simply "Herod" (2:7, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 22).¹⁰

Second, the mere arrival of Gentiles in Jerusalem gives particular focus to the narrative's location on the redemptive-historical calendar. There is no end to the number of opinions on who these magi are. In the simplest terms the reader at least recognizes them as Gentiles;¹¹ consistently across the cultural encyclopedia μάγοι are Gentiles (cf. esp. Daniel 1–5).¹² That they arrived in Jerusalem is not conclusive that they are foreigners but that they depart, in verse 12, "into their own country" is. Moreover, it would be hard to imagine that Jews would call their own king "the king of the Jews" (v. 2).¹³ Elsewhere in Matthew this is a phrase found only on the lips of Gentiles (27:11, 29, 37). Specifically, Babylon's presence in the genealogy, and therefore squarely in the narrative

8 Thus, I agree with Tertullian (see n. 1 above) and continue employing the frames selected through Isaiah 7–8 in Matthew 1 by thinking of Herod in that context in addition to the magi.

9 Similarly see Blomberg, *Matthew*, 61–62.

10 Blenkinsopp contends that the ambiguity of the star "in the east" (ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ) in 2:2, 9 makes "the Davidic-messianic theme . . . also latent in the story of the magi" (*Opening*, 156–57). He argues that the corresponding verb ἀνατέλλω occurs often in the LXX translation of Isaiah with reference to a plant shooting up from the ground (Isa 42:9; 43:19; 44:4; 45:8; 58:8; 61:11), and corresponds to פָּצַח which occurs in prophetic texts (Jer 23:5; 33:15; Zech 3:8; 6:12) in reference to the future Davidic dynast. Thus the rising star of Num 24:17 may linger in the background of the magi story.

11 So too Gnllka, *Matthäusevangelium*, 1:36.

12 See Keener, *Matthew*, 98–99.

13 So too Konradt, *Israel*, 272.

world, leads the reader to understand them as Babylonians precisely.¹⁴ Who else in Matthew's narrative world would have had interest in the birth of the king of the Jews?¹⁵ Given the «David» and «end-of-exile» frames from chapter one it is understandable, within Matthew's narrative world that stretches back to Abraham and runs through the deportation, that those among whom the exiles spent their time would have developed an interest in their religion and theological understanding of history, namely the Babylonians.¹⁶ Given the allusion in 2:11 to Isaiah 60:6, however, it is tempting to see these magi coming from Arabia.¹⁷ Either way, they are Gentiles.¹⁸

Third, the reader makes three observations about the magi *qua* Gentiles that locate them and the narrative amid redemptive-historical expectations. They (1) come to Jerusalem (2) to worship (3) with gifts. Isaiah 60:1–7 foretells the end of the exile as a time when the nations will bring their wealth (LXX Isa 60:6 specifically mentions χρυσίον καὶ λίβανον as Matt 2:11 does) to be accepted in the cultic worship of Yahweh.¹⁹ Thus the image of Gentiles coming to Jerusalem to worship with gifts is a component of the end of the exile, and the dawn of Yahweh's universal reign through the Son of David. The magi

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- 14 Bauer too understands them to have come from Babylon, "the place of Israel's humiliating exile (1:11,17)" ("Kingship," 319).
 - 15 Says Gnllka, "Weil vorausgesetzt ist, daß die Magier um die messianische Hoffnung Israels wissen, ist es am wahrscheinlichsten, daß der Erzähler an Babylonien dachte . . . dort hatte sich Israel im Exil aufgehalten" (*Matthäusevangelium*, 1:36).
 - 16 Zahn makes a similar point based on the Jews' history in Babylon (*Matthäus*, 90–93; followed by Erich Klostermann and Hugo Gressmann, *Die Evangelien Matthäus* [K-GHNT 2; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1909], 162). See also Carson, *Matthew*, 85; Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:27.
 - 17 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:228.
 - 18 See the seminal work by Kenneth Willis Clark, "The Gentile Bias in Matthew," *JBL* 66 (1947): 165–72. Even his detractor, David C. Sim, agrees on this point that the magi are Gentiles ("The Gospel of Matthew and the Gentiles," *JSNT* 57 [1995]: 19–48).
 - 19 Isaiah 60:2 is a description of the state of exile in the language of Isaiah 8:23–9:1, where darkness (חֹשֶׁךְ) covers the earth (אֶרֶץ), and Isa 60:1, 3 is a description of restoration in the language of Isa 9:1 with the shining light (אֹרֶךְ). The entire matrix of terms comes from the description of exile in Deut 28:29 (see also Isa 59:9–10). Isaiah 60:7 makes the point that the nations' riches are a means of worship in the temple. France also points out that Isa 60:3 may be reflected in the "rising" of the star (*Matthew*, 62 n. 14).

While Ps 72:8–11, 15, 17–19 may not specifically describe the end of the exile, it too nonetheless bespeaks of the universal reign of the king of the Jews. Gundry demonstrates that "except for πεσόντες, which Mt likes to add to προσκυνεῖν (see 4:9), and σμύρναν, all of Mt's words [in Matt 2:11] are paralleled in the LXX [Ps 72:10–11; Isa 60:6]" (*Use*, 129–30). Baxter points out the parallels with 1 Kgs 10:1–10/2 Chr 9:1–12 (*Only Shepherd*, 127–28 n. 16).

themselves, therefore, are not in Judea merely to witness the fulfillment of prophecy in the birth of the Messiah, but *they are themselves a fulfillment of prophecy* at the end of the exile.²⁰ “The magi’s worship and presentation are the firstfruits of the eschatological pilgrimage of the nations and their submission to the one true God.”²¹

Furthermore, these events cast the magi as new priests. Not only are they worshippers, but the combination of ἔρχομαι and προσκυνεῖν in the LXX is typical of cultic practices of those approaching the tabernacle or temple.²² This raises questions of the legitimacy of the current priesthood and temple;²³ the facilitation of worship has been relocated from priests to magi, the location of worship from the Jerusalem temple to Bethlehem,²⁴ and the object of worship from Yahweh to Jesus.²⁵ While it is hard to imagine a narrative subversion

20 So too Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:231.

21 Ibid., 1:249. Pace Hagner this is not a statement on the Gentiles *en masse* (*Matthew*, 1:31), but as Bauer states, “Gentiles will become disciples, participating in Jesus’ eschatological benefits, only if they recognize him as the royal Son of David whom God has sent to his people Israel in fulfillment of God’s promises to them” (“Kingship,” 319).

22 Johannes Schneider, “ἔρχομαι,” *TDNT* 2:667. After considering the use of προσέρχεσθαι in the LXX and Hellenistic literature, James R. Edwards concludes that the verb has “unmistakable cultic connotations . . . now transferred to Jesus” (“The Use of ΠΡΟΣΕΡΧΕΣΘΑΙ in the Gospel of Matthew,” *JBL* 106 [1987]: 65–74; quote from p. 65). Moreover, Chae also argues that the Matthew’s use of οὐδαμῶς in 2:6 contains a motif of confrontation and “can be best understood as YHWH’s eschatological means of confronting and reversing Israel’s leadership” (*Jesus*, 183–84).

23 So too Kupp, *Matthew’s Emmanuel*, 225. He argues that the legitimacy of the Jerusalem temple is questioned by Jesus’ mere presence as Immanuel (ibid., 224–28). These events of Matt 2:1–12 make this more explicit, seeing that three out of Matthew’s mere thirteen uses of προσκυνέω are employed here. The subsequent development of the worship of Jesus and the accompanying implications for the temple have their genesis here and in Matt 1:23.

24 Note also Konradt, *Israel*, 273.

25 Heinrich Greeven has observed that “when the NT uses προσκυνεῖν, the object is always something—truly or supposedly—divine” (“προσκυνέω,” *TDNT* 6:763). So too Carson, *Matthew*, 90. See Philo, *Decalogue* 64, for the same notion in Judaism. While C. F. D. Moule points to occasions in Jewish texts where προσκυνεῖν means merely homage (*The Origin of Christology* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977], 175), Davies and Allison point out that falling in prostration (as the magi do) is commonly thought of as an exclusive posture for worship of the Divine throughout Judaism—Matt 18:26 being one of few exceptions (*Matthew*, 1:248). Similarly, see Gnllka, *Matthäusevangelium*, 1:40–41. J. Duncan M. Derrett has concluded that “in bowing before him they acknowledged the deity, Yahweh, whose worship they were facilitating” (“Further Light on the Narratives of the Nativity,” *NovT* 17 [1975]: 104). But see also Peter M. Head, *Christology and the Synoptic Problem*:

of the worship of Yahweh, the reader is nonetheless brought to question the priests and the temple in this scene. Jesus is cast as the new object of worship, *away* from the Jerusalem edifice, by new priests.²⁶ What they bring in hand bears this out, for gifts (δῶρα) and gold (χρυσός) are related to “the worship of God, particularly priestly ministrations, temple, and altar” throughout Matthew (3:23–24; 8:4; 15:5; 23:16–19).²⁷

This worship also means that the universal scope of the reign of the Son of David has begun.²⁸ This, however, does not exclude Jews from within that scope. As yet, where Jews find themselves in relation to “Jesus’ people” is yet to be determined. It appears that they are in view in 1:21; the actions of “all Jerusalem” (2:4) raise questions, however.²⁹ Given that Jesus is so clearly described as the coming Messiah, a complete inversion of expectations has occurred as these Gentiles worship and the Jewish leaders sit out. Thus the inversion creates ecclesiological ambiguity. Who are “his people” of 1:21? This episode “anticipates some sort of redefinition of τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ.”³⁰ The issue remains open-ended for the time being.

To summarize, the magi are Gentiles, arriving in Jerusalem to worship Jesus with gifts. Allusions to the OT in this pericope and the frame selected in chapter one lead the reader to see this seen as an end-of-exile event. Yet, for as much clarity as these Gentiles provide for the narrative’s place on the redemptive-historical calendar, they also create a degree of uncertainty regarding who Jesus’ “people” of 1:21 are. And their worship casts a cloud of suspicion over the Jerusalem temple and its leadership.

An Argument for Markan Priority (SNTSMS 94; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 127–31. Kupp’s argument, based on 4:10, is lacking (*Matthew’s Emmanuel*, 226–27); Jesus implies nothing of himself when he states that only God should be worshipped. To the contrary, if Jesus were denying his divinity, why does he so commonly receive worship (8:2; 9:18; 14:33; 15:25; 20:20; 28:9, 17)? In fact, Mark Allan Powell makes that case that Matt 4:10 is proof positive that Jesus is presented as divine given the gospel’s other uses of προσκυνέω (“A Typology of Worship in the Gospel of Matthew,” *JST* 57 [1995]: 4–5). He calls the worship in Matt 2:11 “epiphany” where the magi worshipers recognize the divine presence and revelation in Jesus (*ibid.*, 14).

26 In Hag 2:6–7, additionally, the treasures of the nations (v. 8 specifically mentions gold) are brought directly to the temple. It is also worth noting that v. 6 makes it clear that even after the historic “return” to the land, *the* second exodus is yet future.

27 Bauer, “Kingship,” 321.

28 So too Konradt, *Israel*, 272–74.

29 Kupp, *Matthew’s Emmanuel*, 61.

30 *Ibid.*

Herod (Matthew 2:3–4, 7–8)

Herod is vexed, together with all of Jerusalem (2:3), when he hears that these magi have arrived, and inquires of the chief priests and scribes to tell him where the Christ is to be born (2:4). He then secretly summons the magi to tell him when the star appeared (2:7). These actions create suspicion around Herod and raise two questions for the reader. Why is “all of Jerusalem” troubled with Herod?³¹ While it is not difficult to surmise why “King Herod” would feel threatened by the birth of “the king of the Jews,” the text does not state explicitly why. Even less clear is why anyone else would be disturbed. The reader also wonders what Herod’s gathering of priests and scribes indicates about their relationship to him. Likely, since he calls scribes, he thinks he can get an answer to his question from the Scriptures. The reader does not, as yet, know what Herod intends with such knowledge, even after Herod’s further inquiry of the magi in verses 7–8.³² The reader, therefore, is unsure what to think of Herod, except for what can be construed from two observations: the employment of the «David» frame selected in chapter one through the generation of Isaiah 7–8, and an inexact warning at 2:12.³³

With the very presence of Herod the reader continues to hear the amplified toll of the Isaiah 7–8 subnarrative ringing from the previous pericope. Indeed, the frames selected in chapter 1 are employed already. Only now the pretender king has a new name.³⁴ The magi call Jesus “the king of the Jews” (2:2); whatever legitimacy Herod had to call himself “king” has been subverted with Jesus’ birth.³⁵ Thus, it is reasonable for the reader to surmise that Herod feels a threat

31 It is a bit too early, however, to see any guilt on the part of the populace (*pace* Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:238).

32 Howell is right that 2:3 can only be understood as violent intentions *retrospectively* (*Inclusive Story*, 119). I disagree, however, that 2:16–18 is “explicitly predicted” in 2:13 (*ibid.*).

33 Of course the intertextual frame selected through the generation of Micah 5 is also significant. This is explored below.

34 Without referencing Rezin, Pekah or Tabeel, Blomberg nonetheless contends that “chap. 2 clearly portrays Herod as the real usurper of the throne” (*Matthew*, 71; cf. also 52, 62). Bauer does not see the continuing themes of Isa 7–8 either, but still contends that “1:18–25 informs the meaning of the kingship of Jesus in 2:1–23” where “the presentation of Herod and Jesus . . . involves double contrast” (“Kingship,” 307–308).

35 See esp. Dorothy Jean Weaver, “Power and Powerlessness: Matthew’s Use of Irony in the Portrayal of Political Leaders,” in *Treasures New and Old: Contributions to Matthean Studies* (ed. David R. Bauer and Mark Allan Powell; SBLSymS 1; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 182–87; Chae, *Jesus*, 187–88; Baxter, *Only Shepherd*, 128–29. Says Willard M. Swartley, “Jesus’ royal credentials thus contrast to Herod’s semi-Jewish and nonDavidic, unbelieving

to his throne.³⁶ With the recent memory of the Isaiah 7–8 narrative, however, the reader perceives that it is not Herod who is threatened. Rather Herod's very presence threatens the Davidic line now embodied in Jesus (as the northern kings threatened the house of David in Ahaz). The rest of Matthew 2 will bear this out. For the time being the reader is left only with an ominous feeling and the memory of the generated narrative of chapter one: the Davidic heir is in peril.

Moreover, Herod wants information superfluous to his stated goal of worship. Why does he want to know the town (2:4) and time (2:7) of Jesus' birth? The reader is led to believe in 2:4 that his question regarding the locale of the Messiah's birth is in response to the magi's question in 2:2—Herod wants to help the magi find the new king so that he too can worship, as he explicitly says in 2:8. His question for the magi in 2:7, however, raises the reader's suspicion. What purpose would the *time* of the star's appearing serve if Herod's goal were to worship? The time of the star's appearing does not matter if that is Herod's only (or even true) intent. And why does Herod meet in secret with the magi? This too causes the reader to suspect that Herod is hiding something.³⁷ By the end of the pericope the reader's suspicion is confirmed by the magi's dream (2:12), even if it is still a mystery what is so dangerous about going back to Herod. The warning at the end adds to the ominous mood that Herod's actions have created. Nothing in the narrative world so far prepares the reader for what Herod is specifically about to do. It is totally shocking when the reader hits 2:16. Until then, however, the reader merely knows that Herod is a fox to be surveilled for *some* reason.³⁸

In summary, Herod's clandestine meeting with the magi rouses ominous feelings and the next pericope is dimly foreshadowed.³⁹ At the same time, the

rule in Jerusalem" (*Israel's Scripture Traditions and the Synoptic Gospels: Story Shaping Story* [Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1994], 222).

36 See Bauer, "Kingship," 314–16.

37 Similarly Miler, *Citations*, 41. The word *λάθρᾳ* is used in the OT with such malicious intent; see esp. 1 Sam 18:21–22 where Saul has goals harmful to David despite his revealed intention in a *secret* conversation (see also 1 Macc 9:60; 3 Macc 6:24). The use of *λάθρᾳ* in Matt 1:19 does not reflect this suspicion of Joseph, however, because his intentions are explicitly called righteous. The use of *ἀκριβῶς* in v. 7 seems to suggest the same thing (so too Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:30). Weaver also points out these "cunning" attributes ("Power," 183, 185–86).

38 Miler says the presence of Herod (as early as 2:1) gives the story "tension dramatique" (*Citations*, 38).

39 Exegetes commonly implicate Herod for his actions of 2:13–16 a bit too early when commenting on 2:3–4, 7–8. Alas, the Model Reader is not an omniscient reader and the narrative has to be allowed to *develop*. The shock of 2:16 is blunted, as is the suspense

frame selected from the previous pericope is employed. The tension between competing kings puts the house of David at risk, together with Yahweh's covenantal promises. The reader expects trouble, therefore, but not its exact nature nor how it will be resolved.

All the Chief Priests and the Scribes of the People (Matthew 2:5–6)

Through their association with Herod, this suspicion is transferred to the Jewish leadership. The chief priests and the scribes do not do much in this pericope other than quote the Scripture at Herod's request, but this alone is enough to create an implied alliance on some level whereby the reader is uncertain of them as well.⁴⁰ This sways the reader to see the priests and scribes as antagonists whose future actions are already vaguely foreshadowed through this consortium.⁴¹

Furthermore, their knowledge of the Scriptures becomes another reason to fear this group. They know the holy writings but do not respond to it as the reader would expect; "instead of acting on that knowledge they become Herod's accomplices."⁴² This strongly contrasts them with Joseph and the magi who also receive revelation (albeit in a different form) and are obedient to it. Thus by the end of this pericope, the "people" of 1:21 and the "us" of 1:23 already exclude Jerusalem's political and religious leaders.⁴³

The term ἀρχιερεῖς is a reference to an established college.⁴⁴ Together with the scribes they constitute the religious authorities in Jerusalem, "employed in the temple cult and related activities."⁴⁵ In the narrative these two groups together constitute a single character group. Their lack of a spokesperson

at the end of 2:12, when the entirety of ch. 2 is telescoped into a reading irrespective of the discourse.

40 See esp. Bauer, "Kingship," 316–18. Davies and Allison say "the Jewish leaders are implicit sympathizers and servants of Herod" (*Matthew*, 1:238). Luz calls this "Herod's nice harmony with all the scribes" of which the reader already knows since Herod appointed τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς (*Matthew*, 1:113).

41 Jack Dean Kingsbury points out that because these leaders make their debut in this way, they are hung with Herod's characteristics for the rest of the narrative ("The Developing Conflict between Jesus and the Jewish Leaders in Matthew's Gospel: A Literary-Critical Study," *CBQ* 49 [1987]: 65–66).

42 Luz, *Matthew*, 1:113; similarly Keener, *Matthew*, 103.

43 Kupp, *Matthew's Emmanuel*, 62.

44 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:239–40.

45 Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:28; see also Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:240; Nolland, *Mathew*, 112. Says Gnlika, "Sie hatte die Tempelgerichtsbarkeit" (*Matthäusevangelium*, 1:38).

in 2:5–6 furthers this sense of homogeneity.⁴⁶ “Although they go by many names . . . they form a united front” and become a single character.⁴⁷

Finally, the reader observes that *all* the chief priests and scribes (2:4) are present, and that these are specifically the priests and scribes *of the people*. Indirectly, therefore, “the people” are introduced into the story *only in relation to “all” the chief priests and scribes*. This most naturally reads as a genitive of subordination. They are the chief priests and scribes *over* the people. They possess a degree of authority and even dominion.⁴⁸ Thus the religious leadership’s relationship to the people is one of authority, control and even ownership.⁴⁹ The people, therefore, are situated precariously; they are under the sway and authority of leaders who know the Scriptures but ominously do not obey them.

The reader can now consider the characterization of “all of Jerusalem” and “the people” in verses 3 and 4. It is unclear why all of Jerusalem is troubled. Even less clear is who this “all of Jerusalem” is. Is it the whole populace, or an illocution for the Jewish leaders (not unlike the way Americans speak of “Washington”)?⁵⁰ Both readings could be supported by verse 4. But this term “of the people” strongly suggests that the people are *distinguished from* the Jerusalem leadership, and so not to be understood as part of the same character group.⁵¹ This term “all of Jerusalem” is, then, to be read as the Jewish leadership *in the course of leading* the general populace. It is in Jerusalem that the priests and scribes hold sway over the people; hence this designation. That is, the Jewish leadership is responsible for the people’s trembling. The latter

46 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:241.

47 So Kingsbury, who adds that they are cast “in a singularly villainous role” (*Story*, 115).

48 Daniel B. Wallace states that this is a lexico-semantic category that relates the genitive only to nouns that imply rule or authority (*Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996], 103). He calls this a subset of the objective genitive where the head noun performs a verbal function—in this case, ruling. This genitive construction also occurs when the chief-priests and elders are concerned about Jesus’ *authority* (21:23), and then again when they fulfill what is foreshadowed of them in Matthew 2 (26:3; 27:1). Other than that, it is not a common construction in the NT (Lk 19:47; 22:66) or LXX (1 Macc 5:42), which lends to the conclusion that it is not common stock and trade language. The dictatorial role of the priests and scribes (and sometimes the elders) is highlighted when it is used.

49 So too Menken, *Matthew’s Bible*, 260. See also *Ant.* 13.288 for the kind of “power over the multitude” (ἰσχύον παρὰ τῷ πλῑθί) the Pharisees could exert.

50 So Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:238.

51 This becomes evident as rest the narrative progresses (including and especially ch. 27); see the convincing case made by Konradt, *Israel*, 89–264.

thinks and feels as directed by the former.⁵² Thus the Jewish leaders are in bed with Herod in sharing the same reaction to Jesus, and the people are swayed by their leaders' reactions.⁵³ The result is to cast Herod and the Jewish leadership as a sort of hendiadys whereby the actions of one will cause to shape the reader's perception of the other. All the while the people are dragged along under their lordship. "Those who are guardians of the holy city have barred from it and from 'his people' the one whom they should be calling 'God with us.'"⁵⁴

We can summarize now the characterization of the chief priests and scribes. They form one character group that exercises a sort of domination over the people/all of Jerusalem, and their alliance with Herod causes them also to be looked upon with uncertainty and suspicion.

With that all the major characters, except the disciples, are on stage. Herod is an untrustworthy fox. The leaders are exercising a high degree of sway, even control, over the people. And the people themselves are situated between the peremptory sway of the Jewish leaders on the one hand, and Jesus who has come onto the scene to "save his people from their sins" on the other. Which way will they go? Will Jesus be able to wrest them from their leaders? If only in part, then who comprises that part? And finally, what relation is there, in Matthew's view, between saving from *sins* and from *the Jewish leaders*? These are all questions Matthew provokes the reader to ask. Together with the frame selected in chapter one, the intertextual conversation with Micah will fill in the details. The quote of Micah 5 in 2:6 has a palpable ecclesiology in the way it suggests a deficiency among Judah's leaders (ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰουδα). This is a not so thinly veiled polemic against Herod. But it is also a critique of the "chief priests and scribes." Their authority "over the people" sets the context for why God's people, "Israel," need someone to shepherd them (ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραήλ). The people, then, hang in the balance between the current leadership "over" them and the new "ruler" who will "shepherd" them. Micah 5 and its context will fill this out.

52 So too Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:240.

53 Says Gnlika, "Als 'Schriftgelehrte des Volks' üben sie einen schädlichen Einfluß auf dieses aus" (*Matthäusevangelium*, 1:38).

54 Kupp, *Matthew's Emmanuel*, 62. That said, it is too early to say "all Jerusalem" prefigures the people's rejection of Jesus in 27:22–25 (*pace inter alia* Bauer, "Kingship," 318). Characterization has to run its course. Below I explore the "hanging ecclesiology" from 1:21 and Menken's observation that negative (2:4; 15:8; 21:23; 26:3, 47; 27:1, 25) and positive (1:21; 4:16, 23; 10:6; 15:24) statements are made about the people (*Matthew's Bible*, 260).

The Narrative Function of the Formula-Quotation in Matthew 2:5–6

Unlike Matt 1:22–23, the formula and quotation in 2:5–6 are not interjected by the narrator. Rather they are found on the lips of the “chief priests and scribes of the people.” Therefore, they do not suspend the narration, but naturally develop the story. Nonetheless, the formula’s similar wording to that in 1:22 and its prominent place in the middle of the chiasm accomplish a kindred result for the reader: generating another narrative world that provides guidance for interpreting the Matthean context.⁵⁵

TABLE 3 *The uniqueness of the formula in Matthew 2:5*

1:22	τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ρηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος . . .
2:5	οὕτως γὰρ γέγραπται διὰ τοῦ προφήτου . . .

Granted, the difference in the wording of the formula and its assimilation into the story slightly blunt the force with which Micah’s narrative world interjects into Matthew’s. Nonetheless, the quotation is no mere allusion, and does have a reminiscent enough formula to produce a result similar to the other formulas.

If it does not halt the narrative, the formula at least slows it down and provides the reader with a glimpse into another narrative world, placing the reader in that world’s symbolic field. In turn, the quote itself generates the context of the antecedent, which is thereby amplified over the Matthean context. Thus the two narrative worlds are brought into conversation with each other for the reader to survey. The two stories do not wash each other out, but touch each other with hermeneutical ramifications for both. This selects frames for the reader and helps clarify what is left otherwise ambiguous among the *dramatis personae*. Thus, a simple “this is that” interpretation will not suffice for perceiving the narrative effect of this oral-scribal intertexture. The context of the quotation will have to be examined.

55 That πληρωθῇ is not used in Matt 2:5 matters not for considering the quotation’s hermeneutical effect. As argued in the introduction, a whole range of factors, not just the idea of fulfillment, bear on this issue.

First, however, it must be established what part of Micah Matthew is using. What is specifically generated? Many scholars argue that Matthew has here combined two texts: Mic 5:1 and 2 Sam 5:2//1 Chr 11:2.⁵⁶ Yet many of these same scholars allege that it is Mic 5:3 that influences Matthew to use 2 Sam 5:2.⁵⁷ If that be the case, then why should the reader refer to 2 Sam 5:2? The Model Reader makes the most economical use of texts (not unlike Ockham's prescription of resisting the multiplication of causes).⁵⁸ It seems simpler, therefore, to understand that Matthew has simply conflated Mic 5:1–3. There is no need to appeal to texts outside of Micah; everything necessary for competent reading is there in Micah and in Matthew's own context.⁵⁹ Matthew quotes Mic 5:1 and inserts the idea of shepherding the people from Mic 5:3 (רֹעֵם וְרָעָה) between his identification of the coming one as a "ruler" (מֹשִׁיָּא) and "over Israel" (בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל).⁶⁰ Further, Israel is called Yahweh's people (τὸν λαόν μου) in Matt 2:6, which Matthew draws from *his own* language in 1:21.⁶¹ Finally, the reference is to the *singular* prophet (but compare the plural in 2:23). Thus, in quoting Mic 5:1, Matthew describes Jesus as one ὁστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου

56 Cf. *inter alia* Gundry, *Use*, 91–93; Stendahl, *School*, 99–100; Rothfuchs, *Erfüllungszitate*, 61; Gnillka, *Matthäusevangelium*, 1:38–39; Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 255–63; Willitts, *Shepherd-King*, 101–107; Baxter, *Only Shepherd*, 130–34; Konrad, *Israel*, 32. See also Homer Heater, Jr. who argues that Matt 2:6 brings Gen 49:10, 2 Sam 5:2 and Mic 5:2 together ("Matthew 2:6 and its Old Testament Sources," *JETS* 26 [1983]: 395–97). Chae supports the Gen 49:10 background (*Jesus*, 176–84).

57 Gundry, *Use*, 92–93; Stendahl, *School*, 99–100; Rothfuchs, *Erfüllungszitate*, 61; Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 260; Willitts, *Shepherd-King*, 107; Baxter, *Only Shepherd*, 133–34; Konrad, *Israel*, 32 n. 93. See also France, "Formula-Quotations," 124–25.

58 Cf. Huizenga, "Confession," 251.

59 Baxter suggests the addition of 2 Sam 5:2 is motivated by Matthew's desire to emphasize his Davidic Christology (*Only Shepherd*, 131). But when it comes to finding allusions, an appeal to what an author "seeks to do" is to beg the question. Plus, as I argue below, Mic 5:1–3 is Davidic enough.

60 So too Keener, *Matthew*, 103 n. 87; see also the detailed examination in Chae, *Jesus*, 174–80. Concerning the absence of Mic 5:2 from Matt 2:6, Davies and Allison say that "maybe the readers are supposed to fill in for themselves" (*Matthew*, 1:244). I explore this idea below.

61 Luz (*Matthew*, 1:103) admits this possibility. Rothfuchs asks why Matthew uses 2 Sam 5:2 to close his quotation (*Erfüllungszitate*, 61). The answer he offers is that Matthew wanted to link his quote with Matt 1:21. But that does not answer the question. Why would he need to employ 2 Sam 5:2 to reference himself? It seems like a tortuous path. The reader more easily makes the direct connection to 1:21 without recourse to 2 Sam 5:2.

(i.e., Yahweh's people) by splicing in Micah's language from Mic 5:3 and his own language from Matt 1:21.⁶²

Micah 5:1, 3 in Context

Micah has much to say about Israel's exile and restoration through the coming king (see esp. 2:12–13). In the following I argue that Micah 4:9–5:4a (the narrowest context for reading Mic 5:1–3) defines the time of exile as one without a competent king and will last until the arrival of a proper Davidic heir. The larger context also envisions the movement of leadership and cultic practice from Jerusalem to Bethlehem at the end of the exile. The result of this movement and re-enthronement of the house of David will be universal eschatological peace—only after David's enemies are judged—as Gentiles come along with Israel to worship the only true God.

Micah is arranged into three parts, each of which begins with the imperative to hear (שִׁמְעוּ; 1:2; 3:1; 6:1) and addresses a different aspect of Israel's pending exile and hope for restoration.⁶³ Micah 1:2–2:13 deals primarily with the sentence of and reason for the exile, and how Yahweh will gather the people and shepherd them through a king. Micah 3:1–5:14 [EB 5:15] focuses on the failures of the then-current leaders resulting in exile and contrasts them to the coming king who will lead the return.⁶⁴ Micah 6:1–7:20 then addresses the people

62 Willitts is unsatisfied with this explanation, stating that it is not clear in 1:21 that Matthew intends to include the Gentiles in this group of “his people” (*Shepherd-King*, 109). Granted, it is not clear in 1:21. I argue below, however, that Matt 2:1–12 creates the ambiguity as to who “his people” of 1:21 are, thereby more than suggesting that it could include Gentiles. The reader does not know more than that by the end of 2:12. Ironically Frankemölle sees things the other way around—1:21 does include Gentiles and 2:6 only Israel (*Jahwebund*, 199–200).

At any rate, nothing is lost by not considering 2 Sam 5:2. For while it “supplies an even more emphatic Davidic theme” (Willitts, *Shepherd-King*, 105), it is a theme of which the reader is already aware.

63 Bruce K. Waltke, *A Commentary on Micah* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 14–16; Dale Ralph Davis, *Micah* (EPSC; Carlisle, Pa.: EP Books, 2010), 11–15. This threefold cycle is, however, not incontrovertible; for a review of scholarship on Micah's macro-structure see Mignon R. Jacobs, *The Conceptual Coherence of the Book of Micah* (JSOTSup 322; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 60–75; Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, *Micah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 24E; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 14–24.

64 Ehud Ben Zvi pays the closest attention to the internal indicators for structure. He puts ch. 3 by itself (*Micah* [FOTL 21b; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000], 70–77) and then groups 4:1–5:14 together (*ibid.*, 89–93) for several reasons *in the text*.

themselves who are also guilty of failure to act in accordance with having been created as Yahweh's people at the exodus (6:1–7:7). This third part concludes with the promise of a second exodus (7:14–17) in which the people will be forgiven (7:18–19) because of Yahweh's faithfulness to his covenant (7:20).

Micah 5:1–3 is situated in the second part (3:1–5:14), and in the third subsection thereof (4:9–5:4a).⁶⁵ The first subsection (3:1–12) confronts the leaders for their oppression of the people and declares that, therefore, all will go into exile. The next subsection (4:1–8) describes the peace that will ensue in Jerusalem upon the restoration (4:1, 3–4, 8) as the aforementioned oppressed receive justice (4:6–7) and people from the nations arrive (4:1e–4) to worship the one true God (4:5). The third subsection (4:9–5:14) concludes part two of the macrostructure with three now-then comparisons (4:9–5:4a), a vision of future-Jerusalem's impeccability (5:4b–8) and judgment upon those who refuse to hear (5:9–14). Thus, I take Micah 4:9–5:4a as a discrete unit, a collection of three now-then prophecies describing disaster and salvation, each cycle beginning with a use of עָתָה.⁶⁶ These cycles together with the requisite context are what the quote in Matt 2:6 generates.

Understanding the discourse through the second part of Micah (3:1–5:14) is necessary for properly reading 4:9–5:4a. Micah 3 begins the second part of the book, with the second imperative שְׁמַעוּ, and lays the blame for the coming exile at the feet of Israel's leaders.⁶⁷ The entirety of 3:1–5:14, in fact, is addressed to the heads of Jacob (רֹאשֵׁי יַעֲקֹב; 3:1; cf. 3:9) and the chiefs/rulers of the house of Israel (וְקִצְיֵי בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל) who have controlled and oppressed Yahweh's people (3:2–3, 11). The prophets are also addressed as those who have led the people

65 Even though other structures have been offered for Micah (see nn. 63 and 64 above), 5:1–3 is, nonetheless, commonly situated with ch. 4.

66 Ben Zvi observes a similar structure based on the repetition of עָתָה (*Micah*, 113–22). Even though he sees an end to the three cycles at 5:1, he does argue that 5:1 is a “double-duty” verse serving to seamlessly wed the prior unit with 5:1–5 (ibid., 92). See also Andersen and Freedman, *Micah*, 459; Waltke, *Micah*, 236, 245, 250, 262, 269; Davis, *Micah*, 89.

How to understand v. 14 within its context is quite the riddle. Andersen and Freedman lay out the different suggestions (*Micah*, 458–59). I argue above that the repetition of עָתָה marks new subunits within 4:9–5:4a, making 4:14 the beginning of such a unit. John T. Willis also makes the case that Micah 4–5 is comprised of parallel pericopae, each describing the hopeless situation of Micah's day and the coming divine deliverance (“Micah IV 14–V 5—A Unit,” *VT* 18 [1968]: 529–35, 47; so too Ben Zvi, *Micah*, 121). If this is the case, 4:14 must be understood as part of the unit that follows it, not with what precedes it. The passage is also held together by catchwords, and Jerusalem and the present king of 4:14 are contrasted with Bethlehem and the coming king of 5:1. Why this matters, below.

67 In fact, the entirety of Micah explains the destruction of Jerusalem “in terms of the incredible sins of the monarchic elite” (Ben Zvi, *Micah*, 104).

astray (הַנְּבִיאִים הַמְּתַעֲמִים אֶת־עַמִּי; 3:5, 11). Finally, the priests are singled out as well (3:11). Thus the entire leadership of Israel, political and religious, specifically located in Jerusalem (3:10), is accused of violence against Yahweh's people. The result of these transgressions/sins (פְּשָׁעוֹ/חַטָּאתוֹ; 3:8) is the destruction of Jerusalem (3:12) and exile for all (3:6). Verse 12 makes their culpability explicit: "Therefore on account of you" (לְכֵן בְּגַלְלֶכֶם) Jerusalem is razed and the temple mount trampled like a ploughed field. Thus, the oppression of the people at the hands of the leadership in Jerusalem has resulted in a destroyed city and temple, and the exile of all.⁶⁸

The next passage, 4:1–8, immediately picks up with that image of the destroyed temple and foretells its reestablishment—not only as preeminent in Jerusalem but over all temples of the earth (הָרַר בֵּית־יְהוָה נִבְנוֹן בְּרֹאשׁ הָהָרִים וְנִשָּׂא; 4:1). This bespeaks of Yahweh's universal reign.⁶⁹ It is no surprise, therefore, that Gentiles stream into it (4:1–3) to learn from Yahweh (4:2), for he will be the only God.⁷⁰ More than streaming, the verb נִהָרִי (4:1) also carries with it the connotation that "they will shine/beam with joy."⁷¹ This will be the day of eschatological peace (4:3–4).⁷² Interestingly though, an image usually reserved for Israel's enjoyment of eschatological rest, that of sitting under one's own vine and fig tree (cf. Deut 8:8; 1 Kgs 5:5[2:46]; Hos 2:14; cf. also John 1:48–50), is here applied to the Gentiles who have come to the Jerusalem temple to worship.⁷³ They are "not the depleted survivors of divine judgment"; the text speaks instead of their *glad* arrival.⁷⁴ They willingly come to join the

68 Waltke says the "prophets and priests . . . were in cahoots with the corrupt bureaucrats in the royal court" and that "their villainy infected the entire nation" (*Micah*, 2). Cf. also Davis, *Micah*, 57–69.

69 So too Waltke, *Micah*, 194–96, 209–10; Davis, *Micah*, 74.

70 The priestly connotations of this arrival at the temple may be too quickly swept aside by Ben Zvi, *Micah*, 98.

71 Ben Zvi, *Micah*, 97.

72 On the relationship between Mic 4:1–4 and Isa 2:2–4 see Andersen and Freedman, *Micah*, 413–27.

73 The image of Israelites under their vine and fig tree is first used in the biblical narrative to describe the era of peace during the days of Solomon's temple building (1 Kgs 5:5 [LXX 2:46; EB 4:25]) as a sort of eschatological fulfillment of Deut 8:8.

The only available referent for the third person plural verb in 4:4a (וַיֵּשְׁבוּ) is the peoples (עַמִּים) and nations (גּוֹיִם) of 4:1–3 (so too Davis, *Micah*, 78). Marvin A. Sweeney overlooks this when he reads Mic 4:4–5 as a vision of international peace brought about by nations "going their separate ways religiously" ("Micah's Debate with Isaiah," *JSTOR* 93 [2001]: 116). Moreover, Sweeney does not give due attention to Micah's vision of the nations learning from Yahweh (4:1–2; see Ben Zvi, *Micah*, 97–98; Andersen and Freedman, *Micah*, 404, 410).

74 Ben Zvi, *Micah*, 97–98.

community of Yahweh's people.⁷⁵ In fact, they stream into Jerusalem at the same time as the Israelite returnees from exile.⁷⁶

This being the case, however, makes 4:5 a bit complicated where suddenly the nations “walk in the names of their own gods.” But, the repetition of לְהַלֵּךְ , אֲשֶׁר , and עַמִּים in 4:1–4 and again in 4:5 strongly suggests that 4:1–5 is to be read as a unit,⁷⁷ and the reader therefore expects conceptual coherence therein. That coherence is found by reading verse 5 as a description of the circumstances prior to the established kingdom of verse 1–4.⁷⁸ The initial כִּי of 4:5a is concessive, translated as “even though,”⁷⁹ and describes the situation of Micah's narrative-present.⁸⁰ Thus, the nations *will* come in joyful worship (as in 4:1–4) “even though” they *currently* walk in the names of their own gods (4:5a). Verses 5b–8 then refocus on the future vision of the coming submission of the nations.⁸¹ Specifically, 4:6–7a is again about the gathering of the exiles.⁸² The reason the nations (who currently walk in the names of false gods in 4:5a) will come is because the lame are assembled/gathered (v. 6) and Zion is established with universal dominion (vv. 7–8).

The discourse continues in 4:9 with the first now-then cycle, taking the reader back to Micah's narrative-present when Jerusalem's leaders are oppressing the people (as in Micah 3).⁸³ Each now-then cycle begins with a description of the current conditions (עַתָּה in 4:9, 11, 14) followed by promises communicated with imperfect verbs (4:10f–g, 13; 5:1–4a).

The first cycle is in 4:9–10. Jerusalem is personified and told that she will go to Babylon, but thence be rescued. Of course this is another prediction of the

75 Delbert R. Hillers, *A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Micah* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 50–51; Ben Zvi, *Micah*, 97.

76 Andersen and Freedman, *Micah*, 413; Waltke, *Micah*, 226.

77 Ben Zvi, *Micah*, 102.

78 So too Ben Zvi, *Micah*, 106.

79 Waltke, *Micah*, 203.

80 So too James Luther Mays, *Micah* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976), 99; Hans Walter Wolff, *Micah the Prophet* (trans. R. D. Gehrke; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 88; Kenneth L. Barker, *Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah* (NAC 20; Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1999), 87; Davis, *Micah*, 80. Bernard Renaud seems to suppose the same thing when he says this verse is a warning against thinking the nations' conversion of 4:1–4 might come any time before the future day (*Michée, Sophonie, Nahum* [SB; Paris: Gabalda, 1987], 80–81).

81 Ben Zvi, *Micah*, 95; Barker, *Micah*, 88.

82 So too Ben Zvi, *Micah*, 108; Waltke, *Micah*, 222.

83 So too Waltke, *Micah*, 236; *pace* Davis, *Micah*, 90. Blomberg observes that Micah commonly alternates between distant predictions and imminent events (“Matthew,” 5).

exile and restoration, where the “daughter of Zion” is a metaphor for the city’s populace.⁸⁴ The use of נָצַף and לָאָץ evoke memories of the exodus (Exod 6:6) as which the return from Babylon is often portrayed (esp. Micah 6–7; Isaiah 40–55).⁸⁵ Unlike Micah 3, however, where *all* of Israel’s leaders are to blame for the nation’s exile, here in 4:9–10 the source of Jerusalem’s agony is specifically the ineptitude of their *king*.⁸⁶ This *functional absence* of a king (מֶלֶךְ אֶיִךְ) is part of Israel’s problem that will need to be redressed for the exile to end, as the reader will see in Mic 5:1–3.⁸⁷ The counselor of 4:9 (יוֹעֵץ) is another example (as in 3:1, 5, 9–11) of the whole of Jerusalem’s political leadership under indictment.⁸⁸

Micah 4:11–13 relays the second now-then cycle from a perspective outside of Jerusalem. There the nations not only besiege the city, but also intend to desecrate its temple (4:11). Bruce K. Waltke argues that the heathen’s words “may our eyes gaze upon/gloat over Zion” show their malicious intent to open up the most holy place as a means of public ridicule.⁸⁹ These enemies, however, will be brought to destruction (4:13) in accordance with Yahweh’s premeditated plan (4:12).⁹⁰ In the end, the point is that these nations who once took Israel into exile are now bringing their treasures to Jerusalem.⁹¹ These verses fill out the picture of the nations’ response to Yahweh at the end of Israel’s exile: while some come joyfully to bring their treasures (4:1–4), some are judged for their failure to submit (4:13; cf. 5:11–13, 16–17) and their wealth is brought to Jerusalem

84 Ben Zvi, *Micah*, 116; Andersen and Freedman, *Micah*, 446.

85 See my seventh chapter. Numbers 25:35 is the only other place in the OT where נָצַף and לָאָץ are used together.

86 So too Mays, *Micah*, 105; Ben Zvi, *Micah*, 115; Davis, *Micah*, 90–91.

87 Micah 4:9 is most likely not a comment on the real absence of a king in Jerusalem. For the reader knows that a king, at least in name, sat on the throne until the deportation (see Andersen and Freedman, *Micah*, 442). Renaud contends that the king is Yahweh and that Mic 4:9 is a reproach to the people for not trusting in him because he will indeed redeem them, as promised in 4:10 (*Michée*, 89–91). But Yahweh’s redemption in 4:10d–f comes only *after* the exile in 4:10a–c. Therefore 4:9 is no statement of Yahweh’s ability to save them, for indeed they will *not* be saved there and then. The twice repeated emphatic עָשָׂה in 4:10 makes it clear that it is *only from Babylon* that they will experience salvation.

88 Andersen and Freedman point out that these two titles (מֶלֶךְ and יוֹעֵץ) are nowhere used together to speak of the same person (*Micah*, 445–46).

89 Waltke, *Micah*, 252; so too Davis, *Micah*, 94–95. See also Andersen and Freedman (*Micah*, 451–53).

90 Ben Zvi says this is the “clear thread of thought” through these verses (*Micah*, 117).

91 So too Andersen and Freedman, *Micah*, 454, 457.

after their defeat. Either way, *the wealth of the nations coming to Jerusalem is an end-of-exile event concomitant with the rebuilding of the once-desecrated temple.*

The reader comes now to the immediate context of Matthew's quote: Mic 4:14–5:4a [EB 5:1–5a]. Again, עֲתָה at the beginning of verse 14 resets the vision, taking the reader back to the author's narrative-present. A siege is again described, and Jerusalem's leadership once more brought into focus.⁹² Specifically, the "judge" (שֹׁפֵט) is the king of 4:9.⁹³ This time, however, the ineptitude of the leadership is not highlighted; rather the striking of the judge/king of Israel on the cheek with the rod (בַּשֶּׁבֶט) seems to be a metaphor for the success of the siege against the city.⁹⁴ This is another way of speaking of the coming exile: *when the king is defeated, the exile begins.*⁹⁵ The deficiency of the king, either through ineptitude (4:9) or military defeat (4:14), is concomitant with the dawn of the exile. Moreover, the striking of this judge/king with the rod (שֶׁבֶט) seems to be an allusion to 2 Sam 7:14, where the punishment for the Davidic line will be the rod (שֶׁבֶט) of men. Thus, the exile of the populace begins when the king is attacked and removed,⁹⁶ snapping the Davidic line.

As in the preceding pericopae, the exile is also followed by restoration, of which Micah provides more detail than ever beginning in 5:1. Here the reader meets a new ruler for Israel from the house of David.⁹⁷ That David's house is in view is evident from the place of this new king's birth, Bethlehem (cf. 1 Sam 16:4; Ruth 4:11), and because this new ruler will be a shepherd (cf. 2 Sam 5:2; 7:7; Jer 23:1–8; Ezek 34:22–31; 37:20–25). Also, calling Bethlehem little (בֵּיתְלֵחַם) bears the connotation of being young and inferior. Says Waltke, "Micah probably intends to note a striking coincidence between David's lowly place of birth

92 Waltke points out that the direct object marker before שֹׁפֵט יִשְׂרָאֵל brings emphasis and focus to this leader, for the direct object marker is usually absent in poetry (*Micah*, 265).

93 Waltke points to several OT passages where "judge" is used in parallel with "king" and where the latter is called upon to exercise justice—Ps 2:10; 148:11; 2 Sam 15:2–6; 2 Kgs 15:5; Isa 11:5; 16:5; Prov 29:14 (*ibid.*).

94 *Ibid.* Davis adroitly illustrates the word play between שֶׁבֶט and שֹׁפֵט: "a beater for the leader" (*Micah*, 100).

95 Ben Zvi also sees the exile characterized as *a time of kinglessness* (*Micah*, 115).

96 Ben Zvi's reading that this strike is on the cheek of Yahweh, and therefore meant to symbolize the nation's dishonoring of him seems unsubstantiated (*ibid.*, 120).

97 The Targum uses "anointed one" for ruler (Kevin J. Cathcart and Robert P. Gordon, *The Targum of the Minor Prophets* [ArBib 14; Wilmington, Del.: Glazier, 1989], 122), making it clear this is understood as a messianic figure. H. G. M. Williamson also demonstrates how Mic 5:1 was understood as Davidic based on its language similar to 2 Chr 7:18—מֹשִׁיחַ בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל ("Eschatology in Chronicles," *TynBul* 28 [1977]: 151–52).

and his social position, a coincidence that matches the Messiah's career."⁹⁸ Moreover, "his origin/emergence" (מוֹצֵאֵהוּ) may well refer to this Messiah's Davidic origin or to the covenantal guarantees given to David.⁹⁹ If exile begins with the fall of the Davidic throne, then it is not surprising that the reestablishment of David's house is concomitant with the end of the exile. "The empire *du jour* may cut off the river of Davidic kingship, but it cannot staunch the spring that feeds it."¹⁰⁰

The repetition of מִמָּקֶדְךָ לִי יֵצֵא in 5:1 (cf. 4:8) "moves the attention of the readers from Jerusalem to Bethlehem, and associates the restoration of the old rule exercised by or from Jerusalem to the new David who will come from Bethlehem."¹⁰¹ Thus a shift will take place in the locus of leadership after the exile. "The House of David will resume its reign in the last days,"¹⁰² but not from Jerusalem. The syntax of the phrase מִמָּקֶדְךָ לִי יֵצֵא backs this up. It is most naturally understood as an attempt to emphasize "from you" (מִמָּקֶדְךָ) to reinforce that it is not from Jerusalem, but *indeed* from the insignificant town of Bethlehem whence the Messiah will come.¹⁰³ In that he will come "for me" (לִי), he will rule on Yahweh's behalf. Again, the Davidic emphasis is seen when this phrase is compared to 1 Sam 16:1, לִי מָלֵךְ. . . רָאִיתִי.¹⁰⁴ Further, his governance over the people Israel (לְהִיּוֹת מוֹשֵׁל בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל) is also reminiscent of 2 Sam 7:8 (לְהִיּוֹת נָגִיד עַל-עַמִּי), again establishing the Davidic stress of the text, and adding to it the role that David plays over Yahweh's people. That is, *over whom David rules are Yahweh's people*. David's enemies who strike him, on the other hand, are judged (per 4:11–13). They are not his people.

The emphasis on the Davidic king's people-defining function is pervasive throughout this pericope. He governs in Israel (5:1). But this is not merely a territorial reference, but means the populace. This is seen in 5:2a where *people* are the object under consideration.¹⁰⁵ In 5:2c, also, the remnant of his brothers, and in 5:2d the sons of Israel are highlighted.

The end result is that these people brought out of exile will "sit" (וַיֵּשְׁבוּ; 5:3c). The verb is most likely a reference back to 4:4, where the end-of-exile people

98 Waltke, *Micah*, 268.

99 Since מוֹצֵאֵהוּ clearly does not mean latrine as it does in 2 Kgs 10:27, it serves here as a functional *hapax legomenon*. For discussion see Andersen and Freedman, *Micah*, 467–68. For the equally loaded מִמָּקֶדְךָ מִיְמֵי עוֹלָם see Waltke, *Micah*, 274–77.

100 Davis, *Micah*, 104.

101 Ben Zvi, *Micah*, 114; cf. also 123–24.

102 Waltke, *Micah*, 234.

103 Renaud, *Michée*, 100; Waltke, *Micah*, 272.

104 So too Renaud, *Michée*, 100; Waltke, *Micah*, 273.

105 The reference to "the thousands" (אַלְפֵי) is to the clans (Carson, *Matthew*, 88) and thus another indicator that people, not territory, are the primary focus.

sit under their own vines and fig trees.¹⁰⁶ Thus the reader sees the people go into exile because of the failures and collapse of the Davidic house, and then brought out by a new Davidic heir to enjoy the eschatological peace promised to Israel and now open to Gentiles.¹⁰⁷

Verse 2 is a telescoped summary of the temporal events described in 4:14 and 5:1.¹⁰⁸ It is important, therefore, to notice the chronology of events Micah here envisions. In 5:2 Yahweh hands the people over to exile *until the time* (עַד־עֵת) when this king is born. Micah foresees the exile persisting *until* (עַד־עֵת) the Davidic king's arrival.¹⁰⁹ If exile is in part defined by the removal of the king, it only makes sense that it cannot end until the kingship is reestablished.

But who is the “one giving birth” (יֹלְדָה)? On a literary level, it is Zion (same lemma in 4:9–10), which I argued above means the populace.¹¹⁰ The “remainder of his brothers” who “will return” (וְיָתֵר אֶחָיו יָשׁוּבוּן), are the exiles who will come and rejoin Yahweh's people. Says Waltke,

The remnant is the kernel of the messianic community, and from them the Messiah will come forth. The “rest,” on the other hand, are those from the Northern and Southern Kingdoms who did not return after the diaspora. With the advent of the Messiah's birth, however, they will rejoin themselves to the messianic kernel, the “remnant.”¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ So too Renaud, *Michée*, 105.

¹⁰⁷ Looking back to Mic 2:12–13, it may well be understood that the king goes into exile too, and is *the first one to come out of exile followed by his people*.

¹⁰⁸ Waltke, *Micah*, 277–78.

¹⁰⁹ Douglas S. McComiskey says, “The prophet sees Israel as abandoned until the Messiah appears and the remainder of the remnant is gathered, including Jews and Gentiles” (“Exile and the Purpose of Jesus' Parables [Mark 4:10–12; Matt 13:10–17; Luke 8:9–10],” *JETS* 51 [2008]: 69). While Waltke does not specifically identify Israel's plight as exile per se, he does say that עַד־עֵת means Israel's misfortune will be reversed only at the Messiah's advent (*Micah*, 278).

¹¹⁰ Renaud might be right to interpret this as the remnant community giving birth to the Messiah (*Michée*, 101–102). Theodor Lescow's proposal is also attractive (“Das Geburtsmotiv in den messianischen Weissagungen bei Jesaja und Micha,” *ZAW* 79 [1967]: 199–205). He argues that יֹלְדָה יֹלְדָה in 5:2 does not refer to the birth of the Messiah, but to the current crisis coming to an end, which is synonymous with the return of the exiles. The implication, I conclude, is that the exiles are “born” back into the land. So while Mic 5:1 may have to do with the arrival of the Messiah, it does not have to do with his birth. All the same, the Messiah's advent in Bethlehem marks the dawn of restoration.

¹¹¹ Waltke, *Micah*, 281. The lemma יָלַד is used in Isa 7:14 and Gen 3:16 too. See Renaud, *Michée*, 102–103.

This reading, thus, sees the Davidic king as the anchor to which the rest of the returnees attach at the end of exile.

The pericope comes to a close with a description of the universal peace that will ensue with the reign of this Davidide (5:3d–4a). In fact, by virtue of their assonance, “return” in verse 2 (יָשׁוּבוּן) and “sit” in verse 3 (יָשְׁבוּ) may be a hendiadys for the end of the exile; one cannot happen without the other if the exile is to end.¹¹² That his reign extends to the extremity of the earth, suggests (even as 4:1–4 makes explicit) that Gentiles will join this end-of-exile community led by the Davidic king.¹¹³ As mentioned above, the “sitting” of 5:3c is a reference back to 4:4, where the Gentiles sit under the vine and fig tree. This is why the peace extends to the “extremity of the earth” in 5:3d: the Gentiles are at peace with the restored Israel because they have come to join the end-of-exile David-led Israel in the worship of the one true God (4:1–4). Finally, the greatness of his name is another reference to David (2 Sam 7:9).¹¹⁴

The logical flow of this section of Micah has been difficult to detect. What it lacks in structure, however, it makes up for in vivid imagery, and the reader can be sure of some things despite the exegetical quandaries. Micah provides several successive snapshots of the (southern) exile and the restoration. These snapshots are in 3:1–4:8; 4:9–10; 4:11–13; 4:14–5:4a. Taken together they form a composite picture describing the failures of the Jerusalem leadership heading up to and causing the exile, the decisive events that inaugurate the exile, and finally what the end of the exile will look like. Leading up to the exile the political and religious authorities in Jerusalem habitually oppress the people (3:1–3, 5, 9–11), and specifically the king is inept to do anything about this cruelty and the oncoming exile (4:9). In the end, the exile will be their fault (3:12). The exile itself begins as besieging nations (4:11, 14) take the people of Jerusalem away (4:10), destroy the city and profane the temple (3:12; 4:11), and remove the sitting Davidic king from authority (4:14). These conditions will persist *until* (5:2) the end of the exile when they will all be reversed.¹¹⁵ In that end-of-exile-day the temple of Yahweh will sit on the “highest of all mountains” (4:1) and his people will return (4:6–7; 4:10; 5:2–3) together with Gentiles (4:1–4, 6–8; 5:2–3) led by the newly re-enthroned Davidic king (5:1–2) whose enemies will be destroyed (4:12–13).¹¹⁶ In Micah’s view, *all five of these elements* (return of

112 See Andersen and Freedman, *Micah*, 469.

113 See also Chae, *Jesus*, 185.

114 Waltke, *Micah*, 285.

115 Similarly Ben Zvi, *Micah*, 124; Waltke, *Micah*, 208, 278.

116 Ben Zvi says Mic 5:1–5 is meant to give the hope of reversal of the then-current problem, lack of ideal Davidide, and that “the text conveys a sense of coherence between

exiles, inflow of the Gentiles, rebuilding and exaltation of Yahweh's temple, re-enthronement of David's house, and destruction of Yahweh's enemies), *and nothing less, can mark the end of the exile*. Finally, this end to the exile will result in eschatological peace (4:3–4; 5:3–4a) and joy (particularly for the Gentiles; 4:1) as leadership over Yahweh's people moves from Jerusalem to Bethlehem (4:8; 5:1).

These are the images and icons Matthew's reader perceives through the generation of Micah 3–5 in Matt 2:6 and its amplification over Matt 2:1–12. They comprise the Mican «end-of-exile» frame that Matthew selects through his intertextual conversation with the prophet. It is to that conversation we now turn.

Matthew's Conversation with Micah

It might appear that Matthew's use of Micah 5 is “the only text of the five in the infancy narrative that can be viewed via a very straightforward scheme of prediction and fulfillment, with no multiple or deeper levels of meaning or use of typology.”¹¹⁷ Micah says the Messiah will be born in Bethlehem, and Matthew says, lo and behold, in Bethlehem he is born. This simple (and certainly true) correspondence, however, has distracted interpreters from the “deeper levels of meaning and typology” that indeed emerge when the reader attends to the intertextual conversation. At Matt 2:6 two stories converge. They are two narrative worlds that touch at one point—Mic 5:1–3 touches down in Matt 2:6—and influence each other with their contents. In Matt 2:1–12 Gentiles come to Jerusalem to worship the new Davidic king. In Micah 3–5 the impending exile will end only when the house of David is re-enthroned which will bring Gentiles to Jerusalem to worship Yahweh, exalted above all gods and judging his enemies.¹¹⁸ As Matthew generates Micah, an «end-of-exile» frame is selected. The events of Micah 3–5, therefore, interpret the redemptive-historical meaning of the events surrounding the magi's visit and characterization in

the unique character of the Davidide vis-à-vis other rulers and that of Israel vis-à-vis the nations as symbolized by Assyria and Babylon” (*Micah*, 129–30).

117 Blomberg, “Matthew,” 7. So too Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:29–30.

118 It is interesting that Theodore of Mopsuestia read Micah 5 so well that he insisted that the king must be *Zerubbabel*, seeing that he is enthroned at the end of the exile (“Commentary on the Prophet Micah” in *Theodore of Mopsuestia: Commentary on the Twelve Prophets* [trans. Robert C. Hill; vol. 108 of *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation*, ed. Thomas P. Halton et al., Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2004], 225–30).

Matt 2:1–12. The result is a conversation between two narratives with the same focus—exile and restoration of Yahweh's people—that develops and fills out the details of each. That which Matthew's narrative leaves ambiguous, Micah explains.¹¹⁹

First, the redemptive-historical setting of Matt 2:1–12 is one of exile because the Davidic throne is empty. This is a condition of exile per Mic 4:9, 14. Matthew is drawing on this when the magi ask, "Where is the one born king of the Jews?" (Matt 2:2). The question more than suggests that Herod is no king. It is a calendrical question vis-à-vis the exile. Indeed, from Micah's perspective there is no king but David, and from Matthew's genealogy the reader sees that there has not been such since the dawning of the exile. Since there is still no king, the exile persists.

Second, the ongoing exile is seen in Matthew insofar as the temple is defunct. Worship is meant for Yahweh alone, who dwells in his temple. Should not, therefore, worship be conducted in the temple? What, then, are these Gentiles doing worshipping in Bethlehem? The reader hereby understands the Jerusalem temple is no temple at all. Micah sees its profanation in the exile (4:11), and Matthew is strongly insisting that it is still profaned. Micah's imagery of the onset of the exile is employed by Matthew to show the exile's persistence.¹²⁰

Third, with thick irony Herod and Jerusalem's religious leaders play the role of the city's besiegers—the ones profaning the temple! They run it. They lead the worship there. *They* have captured the city and are responsible for the temple's profanation.¹²¹ If Micah sees the oppression of Jerusalem as a marker of exile (that will continue until the end of the exile), then the question arises who the oppressors are in Matthew's narrative. Herod and the Jerusalem leadership

119 While I have no interest in contradicting Stendahl's thesis that the OT quotations in Matthew 2 answer the *unde* ("whence") question regarding the Messiah ("*Quis et Unde?*," 97–100), it does appear that a great number of commentators' satisfaction with this explanation has distracted from further implications of those same quotations. To the point, Miler is correct that much of the content of the OT quotation in Matt 2:6 is superfluous if all that was needed was a statement that Jesus was born in Bethlehem (*Citations*, 36). He writes, "On ne voit pas en quoi la citation de Michée constitue un argument de quelque utilité dans le débat. Il suffisait de raconter la naissance de Jésus à Bethléem."

120 With both Micah's and Matthew's strong Davidic theologies, it is not hard to imagine that they share the conviction that the only real temple is one built by a Son of David (cf. 2 Sam 7:13).

121 See also Konradt, *Israel*, 34–37.

play that role nicely.¹²² They exercise authority over the people (Matt 2:4) and cause them to be frightened when they should be rejoicing (Matt 2:3).

Yet, while the reader perceives an ongoing exile from the intertextual conversation, the reader can also anticipate the end of the exile approaching, for the king in the line of David is born who will shepherd his people.¹²³ If exile is defined through the lens of the current status of David's house, the end of the exile is also now in view as David's son comes onto the scene, per Mic 5:1–3.¹²⁴

The temple is also now in reconstruction. It is not, however, the building of stone and gold in Jerusalem. Rather, the locus of worship has moved from Jerusalem to Bethlehem at the end of the exile, as the literary structures of Mic 4:8–5:1 and Matt 2:1–12 both demonstrate. The movement in Matt 2:1–12 from Jerusalem to Bethlehem is filled out by the movement from Jerusalem at the time of the exile in Mic 4:8 to the restoration's dawn in Bethlehem in Mic 5:1. The reason for the movement in Micah elucidates the meaning of the movement in Matthew: the exile is ending and the rebuilt temple is located in the Messiah from Bethlehem, not the structure in Jerusalem.¹²⁵

Further, the arrival of the Gentiles with gifts as a realization of the end-of-exile vision of Isa 60:1–6 is confirmed by Micah's vision of their arrival in Jerusalem (4:1–4, 6–8; 5:2–3).¹²⁶ Their *joy* at finding the king of the Jews (Matt 2:10) is interpreted by Mic 4:1; it is another indicator that the exile is coming to an end.¹²⁷

Several issues, however, that Micah brings to the conversation are left unexplained by Matthew. For one, where are the people who are supposed to be gathered to worship Yahweh once more in this true temple? The temple may be relocated in Jesus, but where are the Jewish worshippers, regathered after

122 Keener draws a straight line from Pharaoh (as depicted in *Ant.* 2.206) to Herod and Judea's leadership, and says they are "equivalent to the oppressors of Israel's true remnant" (*Matthew*, 102–103). I explore this imagery further in chapter five.

123 While not exploring it, Nolland says some kind of restoration theology must be afoot (*Matthew*, 115).

124 Other Jewish literature is full of this image of one who will "shepherd my people Israel" as the Davidic monarch who will gather the twelve tribes together at the end of the exile (Mic 2:12–13; Ezek 34; *Pss. Sol.* 17; 4 *Ezra* 13:37–40; *T. Jud.* 23–24; *T. Dan* 5:10–13). Cf. also Nolland, *Matthew*, 115 n. 139.

125 Without the same focus on the temple, Baxter nonetheless also observes that "Jesus' replacement of the Jewish leaders is one of the ways that Matthew echoes the wider literary context of Mic. 5.1" (*Only Shepherd*, 131).

126 See also Derrett for more on the magi's gift as an end-of-exile marker ("Further Light," 104).

127 Says Chae, "The coming of the magi . . . can be considered proleptic, that is, as the first-fruits of the Gentiles, if viewed in the light of Mic 5:4b" (*Jesus*, 185).

being scattered (Mic 4:6–7; 4:10) whom this new king will shepherd (Mic 5:2–3)? Per Micah, submissive Gentiles are to *join* the Jews as Yahweh's people. The former are there in Matthew; where are the latter? Matthew has yet to identify them. Clearly they are of great concern; Matthew pulls ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραήλ from Mic 5:3 into his quotation to make this explicit.¹²⁸ Yet, Matthew leaves it unclear who these end-of-exile people are (for the time being). The reader knows to look for them in light of Matt 1:21, 23 and now in light of 2:6 as well,¹²⁹ but will have to keep looking as the story progresses. For the time being, the people are under the sway of the Jerusalem leadership (Matt 2:4).

The reader concludes that a tug of war, so to speak, is beginning between Jesus and the Jerusalem authorities over the people.¹³⁰ The new Davidic king needs to lead a people out of their captivity, which is now the Jerusalem leadership, filling the redemptive-historical role of the Jew's former captors, Babylon.¹³¹ Thus, through the intertextual conversation with Micah, Matthew has ironically cast Herod and Jerusalem's leadership as those besieging Jerusalem! *Jerusalem can henceforth be read as the place of exile.* (The next pericope, Matt 2:13–21, develops this concept with more clarity.) Yet, the worship of the Gentiles means that the universal scope of the reign of the new David has begun, even if only in small part. In light of the ecclesiological ramifications for the end of the exile, the reader is brought to conclude that Gentiles can be included among "Jesus' people" of 1:21.¹³² Given that Jesus is so clearly described as the coming *Jewish* Messiah, a complete inversion of expecta-

128 Carson sees the same Jew-Gentile concern in the phrase "my people Israel" in light of Matthew's use of *Isa 60:6* (*Matthew*, 88–89).

129 Rothfuchs also associates Jesus' people of 1:21 with Yahweh's people, "Israel," in 2:6 (*Erfüllungszitate*, 61), as do John Paul Heil ("Ezekiel 34 and the Narrative Strategy of the Shepherd and Sheep Metaphor in Matthew," *CBQ* 55 [1993]: 700) and Hagner (*Matthew*, 1:29).

130 "[T]he crowds appear much more markedly as a distinct 'figure' in the narrative . . . since the central significance of the conflict between Jesus and the authorities in the Matthean Jesus story also places a greater weight on the crowd's tendency in choosing a side. Matthew indicates this fundamental theme of the story of conflict already in Matt 2." (Konradt, *Israel*, 138–39).

131 Thus, *pace* Luz, it is too early in the narrative to say, "Herod and all the people of Jerusalem are together part of the Jewish front that rejects the new royal child" (*Matthew*, 1:113). Were that the case, one would be led to conclude that only Gentiles can participate in the community of τὸν λαόν αὐτοῦ of 1:21.

132 *Pace* Miler who contends that 2:6 brings nationalistic clarity to 1:21 (*Citations*, 41). I do not see how this could be in light of the Matthean context. Chae also argues that the use of Mic 5:1–4 causes Matt 2:6's λαός to be a category that "still remains open to the nations" (*Jesus*, 177).

tions has occurred as these Gentiles worship and Jerusalem's leaders remain unmoved (despite their knowledge of the Scriptures). This inversion creates still more ecclesiological ambiguity. Who are his "people" of 1:21 and 2:6? The question remains open for the reader; the narrative "anticipates some sort of redefinition of τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ."¹³³

A second question that Micah asks, but Matthew does not yet answer, is when will this end-of-exile destruction of Yahweh's enemies take place, and where is the resultant everlasting peace? Again, if the Jerusalem's leaders are portrayed as the ones besieging the city (à la Mic 4:11), then they presumably will be the ones destroyed. But insofar as they are the "chief priests and scribes over the people" (Matt 2:4), then it also remains to be seen where these "people" will end up: being shepherded out of exile by the new Davidide or driven to destruction together with Yahweh's enemies? The reader anticipates that this tug of war between Jesus and the religious leaders over the people will intensify, with terrible consequences for the new David's enemies.

To summarize, in the course of these events "all the chief priests and scribes" are associated with Herod, while "the people" play a passive role. They are pulled between the chief priests and scribes in league with "King" Herod on the one hand, and the new King Jesus and the magi who are performing priest-like activities of worship on the other. In this context, Micah 5:1, 3 is quoted by the priests and scribes, which resultant intertextual conversation furthers Matthew's ecclesiological agenda of the restoration of Jesus' "people" (cf. 1:21) from exile through the re-enthronement of the true Davidide. This matrix of exile and restoration images are the icons that populate Matthew's frames.¹³⁴ Specifically, we can call these frames «David» and «end-of-exile».

Summary and Conclusion

While many backgrounds from the OT, developing Jewish traditions, and Hellenistic world have been proposed,¹³⁵ this narrative-critical reading follows

¹³³ Kupp, *Matthew's Emmanuel*, 61.

¹³⁴ Thus, with Miler I conclude that the geographic apologetic intention of Matt 2:1–12 should be relegated to a place of secondary importance (*Citations*, 44).

¹³⁵ For summaries see Luz, *Matthew*, 1:104–105; France, *Matthew*, 62–64. For a detailed examination of Matthew 2's quotes vis-à-vis first-century expansions to the Balaam story, see David Instone-Brewer, "Balaam-Laban as the Key to the Old Testament Quotations in Matthew 2," in *Built upon the Rock: Studies in the Gospel of Matthew* (ed. Daniel M. Gurtner and John Nolland; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 207–27; Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth*

the text's own guidance through the cultural encyclopedia, and looks to the quoted passage whose context is generated into Matthew. At 2:6 Matthew generates Mic 5:1–3 and its context. The resultant intertextual conversation between evangelist and prophet selects «David» and «end-of-exile» frames. The exile's end is near because the Davidic heir has arrived in redemptive history, locating his people (whoever they turn out to be) on the redemptive-historical calendar as Yahweh's end-of-exile people.

The frame selected in Matthew 1 also contributes to reading Matt 2:1–12. In both Isa 7:1–9:6 [EB 9:7] and Mic 4:9–5:4a there is a controversy over who the rightful king in Jerusalem is and what that means for Yahweh's people. In both cases this is resolved when David's throne is reestablished, marking the end of the exile for Yahweh's true covenant people. This persistent subnarrative provides nearly all the characterization for the gospel. In the course of events “all the chief priests and scribes” are associated with Herod, while “the people” play a passive role, pulled between the old king, Herod, and the priests and scribes on the one hand, and on the other, the new king, Jesus, and those performing the priest-like activities of worship, the magi. In the middle of the drama Micah 5:1, 3 is quoted by the chief priests and scribes, which serves to further Matthew's ecclesiological agenda of the restoration of Jesus' people

of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke (rev. ed.; ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1993), 188–96). Edwin M. Yamauchi, however, sees the lack of explicit reference to Numbers 22–24 as a “glaring obstacle to this view—in light of the fact that Matthew delights in quoting Old Testament passages” (“The Episode of the Magi,” in *Chronos, Kairos, Christos: Nativity and Chronological Studies Presented to Jack Finegan* [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1989], 23). Says Hagner, “Since Matthew makes no deliberate attempt to draw wording from the episode in Numbers, nor does he cite or allude to the OT passages, it may be that the similarities are coincidental” (*Matthew*, 1:25). Given the theology of David's son throughout this section, an intended allusion to 1 Kgs 10:1–13 (J. Edgar Bruns, “The Magi Episode in Matthew 2,” *CBQ* 23 [1961]: 51–54) is not far-fetched. For helpful studies that explore Mosaic allusions, see David Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (JLCS 2; London: Athlone Press, 1956; repr., Salem, N.H.: Ayer, 1984), 5–9 et passim; Dale C. Allison, *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 140–65; Roger David Aus, *Matthew 1–2 and the Virginal Conception: In Light of Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaic Traditions on the Birth of Israel's First Redeemer, Moses* (StJud; Landham, Md.: University Press of America, 2004), 15–18. These studies, however, are critiqued by Carson who correctly points out that a “close study shows the theological matrix of the prologue centering on Jesus as the Davidic King and Son of God . . . not on him as the new Moses, to whom the allusions are few and inexplicit” (*Matthew*, 83). Either way, Matthew's explicit OT references, esp. those introduced with a formula, foreground *those* contexts before all else (so too Willitts, *Shepherd-King*, 100).

(cf. 1:21) from exile through the re-enthronement of the true Davidide. Similar to my argument in the previous chapter, the reader sees Jesus as the rightful king of Israel and that his advent promises a impending end to his people's exile. Thus, the «David» frame is redoubled.

The New Temple (Matthew 8:1–4)

At this point it is worth glancing forward to observe a certain icon of Micah's «end-of-exile» frame that influences Matt 8:1–4: the relocation of the temple from the structure in Jerusalem to Jesus himself.¹³⁶ In this passage, Jesus heals a leper and tells him to present himself, with gift in hand, to the priest. This recalls Lev 13:1–14:32 where lepers (and possible lepers) are instructed to present themselves to a priest (cf. esp. 13:1–2) who will examine them (13:3–8) and pronounce them either clean or unclean (13:3, 8). These same instructions recycle many times through Leviticus 13: a priest is to *examine* lepers and *make pronouncement* over them. Leviticus 14:1–32 then gives instruction regarding ritual offerings if they are found to be “unclean.” The procedure is concerned not only with ceremonial purity,¹³⁷ but also “at stake is membership in the residence community itself.”¹³⁸ Aware of this part of the cultural encyclopedia, the reader cannot help but notice in Matt 8:2–4 some peculiar actions and words from the one who has no intention καταλύσαι τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφῆτας (5:17). What business does Jesus—independent of the temple, and who is clearly not a descendent of Levi—have to make/declare the leper clean in 8:3?¹³⁹

136 Walter Grundmann argues that Matt 8:1–4 marks Jesus as the new cultic center (*Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* [THKNT; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1968], 248). Micah's «end-of-exile» frame gives weight to this neglected insight. The frame also helps in reading Matthew 10. For substantial work on Matthew 10 in relation to the author's use of Micah 5 in Matthew 2, that also perceive an end-of-exile theology at work, see Chae, *Jesus*; Willitts, *Shepherd-King*. Chae concludes succinctly that “the throne of the Davidic Shepherd is established only upon the completion of Israel's rescue from exile” (*Jesus*, 381).

137 Cf. T. Desmond Alexander, *From Paradise to the Promised Land: An Introduction to the Pentateuch* (3d ed.; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 237–48.

138 Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Leviticus: A Commentary* (OTL; trans. Douglas W. Stott; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 168.

139 The imperative, καθαρίσθητι, together with the touch is a speech-act whereby the leper is rendered and pronounced clean. C. H. Cave suggests that the leper's request, ἐάν θέλῃς δύνασάί με καθαρίσαι (Mark 1:40//Matt 8:2), is an application to be *declared* clean (“The Leper: Mark 1. 40–45,” *NTS* 25 [1978–1979]: 246). The full healing, then, is more than expected.

To be sure, Jesus gives due deference to Lev 14:1–32 in telling the former leper to take to the priest the gift Moses commanded (8:4). But in 8:3 Jesus is acting on behalf of the priest. He is providing the examination (implied) and making the pronouncement. The injunction to show himself to the priest in 8:4 could be an instruction to go and receive the proper examination. But to what end? He is already healed. The examination and pronouncement are already made. Instead, the injunction to show himself to the priest is a shot across the bow of the current priesthood. The former leper is to show them that he has been healed *independently of them*. This reading helps understand why he is to go to them at all: not to be examined and categorized but εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς.¹⁴⁰ He is to go to be a witness, not to be examined. He is to witness to what has happened and to who has made him clean.¹⁴¹ The testimony, therefore, is that a new priesthood is in town, totalized in Jesus himself. Moreover, he is the new epicenter of holiness; he is the new temple.

Corroboration for this “new temple” reading of Matt 8:2–4 is found in the evangelist’s description of the leper’s approach. As argued above in observing the magi (2:2), the use of ἔρχομαι and προσκυνεῖν together in the LXX is typical of worshippers approaching the tabernacle or temple.¹⁴²

Thus, the «end-of-exile» frame that Matthew and Micah conspire to select prepares the reader to see events like these in the service of Matthew’s larger new-temple agenda. But there is more. Could the leper himself be a microcosm of all Israel? As a leper he had been ostracized from the worshiping community; he had been exiled. Matthew has already established that Israel is in exile. In the mendicant’s return to the worshipping community could reside an

140 The εἰς is clearly a preposition of purpose or even result.

141 Pace Luz (*Matthew*, 2:6), the pronoun αὐτοῖς could be read as a dative *incommodi*: “Show yourself to the priest . . . in order to be (εἰς) a witness/testimony *against* them (αὐτοῖς).” So the phrase εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς is clearly taken in Mark 6:11, and Wallace suggests the same for Mark 13:9 (*Greek*, 142–44; cf. also Matt 10:18). In the LXX “εἰς μαρτύριον is usually to be understood in an adversative sense” (Cave, “Leper,” 249). But to be sure the similar phrase in Matt 24:14 is a dative *commodi*.

142 Schneider, “ἔρχομαι,” *TDNT* 2:667. Edwards argues that in Matthew προσέρχεσθαι has “unmistakable cultic connotations . . . now transferred to Jesus” (“ΠΙΘΟΞΕΡΧΕΣΘΑΙ,” 65). Given that this leper is the first in the narrative since the magi (2:2, 11) to approach like this, the frame from Matthew 2 is in view all the more. Matt 2:4 is also the last time the reader has encountered any mention of priests before this episode. The use of κύριε in 8:2 also serves to focus the image all the more (*ibid.*, 67). This last consideration pushes Davies and Allison in the direction of this interpretation (*Matthew*, 2:10). Micah’s «end-of-exile» frame adds more weight.

emblem of Matthew's larger theology of the exile's end through the fullness of Jesus' mission, narrated through the whole of the gospel.¹⁴³

To conclude, Matthew has selected for the reader «David» and «end-of-exile» frames. Direct quotations from Isa 7:14 and Mic 5:1, 3 accomplish this with great precision because the text of Matthew has directed the reader to those specific texts. And the genealogy has more than hinted in these directions as well. But the Model Reader has access to the entire cultural encyclopedia. The consistent presence of David and exile in only the first three pericopae, therefore, inclines the reader to inquire whether these themes can be found elsewhere in the cultural encyclopedia. Such information then becomes useful for reading Matthew. In other words, the repetition of David and exile implies something to the reader that is worth exploring in *any* text with such themes. It is, then, on an inferential walk through the cultural encyclopedia that the Model Reader now goes.

143 Special thanks to Nick Perrin for first tuning me in to this reading.

Exile and David in the Late Second Temple Cultural Encyclopedia

To this point the text of Matthew has directed the Model Reader to specific OT texts with which the gospel converses. The reading of those OT contexts is influenced by Matthew and their theology is equally brought back into the gospel's narrative world. While Matt 1:22–23 and 2:5–6 establish these specific intertexts, the Model Reader is also inclined—by virtue to the content of the intertextual conversations—to peruse the cultural encyclopedia for other indications of Matthew's *intentio operis* and possible influences on reading the first gospel in its first century context. To take such an inferential walk through the cultural encyclopedia is to ask the question, Are there ideas about exile and/or David in the textually encased storehouse of knowledge of the first century Jewish thought-world? Such an inquiry does not need to prove (or even mention) anything about Jewish *thoughts* or *people's conceptions* or *beliefs*, but only explore what exists in the cultural encyclopedia. If an idea exists *there*—in the *texts*—then it exists as a resource for the Model Reader with which to interpret Matthew well.

A Taxonomy of Exile in the Late Second Temple Cultural Encyclopedia

There are varying concepts of exile in the late Second Temple Jewish cultural encyclopedia. Of course one view is that the exile is over. But it is understandable how an historical event as calamitous and confusing as the sixth century BCE exile could never reside merely in the Jewish collective *memory*. The horrors of the experience, perhaps. But the theological—and therefore existential—dilemma created for those who believed their covenant God is the true God of all the nations is not so easily resolved. Unsurprisingly therefore, the centuries after the historic “return”, also sixth century BCE, produced texts that tried to interpret the meaning of exile as well as to imagine what a full restoration *will* someday look like. And there was, of course, diversity among the conceptions of exile and return as well as a variety of rhetorical and theological consequences to such. The following, therefore, is an attempt to organize some of the diversity by providing a taxonomy of exile in late Second Temple

Jewish texts. The goal here is not only to demonstrate that the idea of ongoing exile predates Matthew, but to actually try to define what that meant in various texts.

So what is “exile” in the late Second Temple Jewish literature? What can be observed on an inferential walk through the cultural encyclopedia on which the text of Matthew sends the Model Reader?

The Exile is Over

To begin, there are texts that understand Jeremiah’s 70 years (25:11–12; 29:10) as a simple time reference. *Testament of Moses* 3:14 calls the exile of the two southern tribes seventy-seven years of slavery.¹ It ended with Ezra and Nehemiah’s return (*T. Mos.* 4:5–8) even as the northern tribes remained among the nations, but still growing (that is, no longer slaves; *T. Mos.* 4:9).² Beginning in *T. Mos.* 5:1 the problems after the sixth century BCE arise under new circumstances; it is not more of the same. Thus the *Testament of Moses* understands the exile as a decisive event in Israel’s history, but one that is over.³ *Sibylline Oracles* 3:280–294 does the same, stating that the temple was desolate for seven decades.⁴ First Esdras 1:54–58 also demarks the exile as a definite time span equivalent to ten sabbath years (1:58; cf. Lev 25:3–4). In the OT, 2 Chr 36:20–23, Ezra 1 (on which 1 Esd 2:1–15 depends) and Zech 1:12–17 do likewise. Judith does not mention Jeremiah’s 70 years, but nonetheless describes the exile in entirely past terms

1 This number could be taking Jeremiah 25:11–12; 29:10 as a temporal approximate. Or there could be a textual corruption; the only extant copy is a sixth century CE version at least two degrees removed from its original language (J. Priest, *OTP* 1:919–20).

2 F. Gerald Downing also contends that Josephus and Philo evince that Diaspora Jews not only accepted, but were quite content with their situations (“Exile in Formative Judaism,” in *Making Sense in [and of] the First Christian Century* [JSNTSup 197; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000], 160–64). But see Louis H. Feldman who is a more nuanced in observing Josephus’s mixed view of exile (“The Concept of Exile in Josephus,” in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions* [ed. James M. Scott; JSJSup 56; Leiden: Brill, 1997], 145–72).

3 See also James C. VanderKam, “Exile in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature,” in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions* (ed. James M. Scott; JSJSup 56; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 92–94; but see Michael A. Knibb, “The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period,” in *Essays on the Book of Enoch and Other Early Jewish Texts and Traditions* (SVTP 22; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 199–200; repr. from *HeyJ* 17 (1976); David J. Bryan, “Exile and Return from Jerusalem,” in *Apocalyptic in History and Tradition* (ed. Christopher Rowland and John Barton; JSPSup 43; London: Sheffield Academic, 2002), 65–68.

4 See VanderKam, “Exile,” 91–92.

(4:3; 5:17–20).⁵ These texts demonstrate no understanding of any lasting experience of the historic exile.⁶ It is an event wholly in the past.⁷

Continuing Diaspora

But the above texts seem to be in the minority. A much larger cross-section of the late Second Temple cultural encyclopedia still wrestles with the meaning of exile and expresses an understanding of its enduring effects. The first, and most obvious, are texts that describe the Diaspora as the lingering result of the exile, even as the continuance of exile. This is most clearly seen in texts in which the return of the northern tribes will mark the end of their exile. Tobit 13:3–6 looks for οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ to be gathered again from the nations among whom they were scattered/captured at the time of the Assyrian invasion (cf. Tob 1:2).⁸ The *Words of the Luminaries*^a (4Q504) reflects at length on the gracious election

5 See Jörn Kiefer, *Exil und Diaspora: Begrifflichkeit und Deutungen im antiken Judentum und in der Hebräischen Bibel* (ABG 19; Leipzig: Evangelische, 2005), 322–24.

6 *Second Baruch* was likely written too late to be considered part of Matthew's cultural encyclopedia proper. I would place that work, nonetheless, as a unique case in this category. Chapter 32 verses 2–4 mention the rebuilding of a short-lived temple—a reference to the new temple at the end of sixth century BCE and its subsequent 70 CE destruction (cf. also 68:3–7; Knibb, "Intertestamental Period," 209–11). It seems then in 2 *Baruch* that exile is a cyclical affair (Nicholas Perrin, "Exile," in *The World of the New Testament* [ed. Joel B. Green and Lee Martin McDonald; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013], 33) marked more by preliminary events than ongoing conditions. Thus, *the* exile is over as a new one sets in. Written still later, 4 *Baruch* appears to be doing the same: after the historic return (7:16–17; 8:1) another exile would result from further sinfulness (9:15, 21–22). This is where John A. Dennis's insights are helpful, though he does not mention 2 *Baruch* or 4 *Baruch* (*Jesus' Death and the Gathering of True Israel: The Johannine Appropriation of Restoration Theology in the Light of John 11:47–52* [WUNT 2/217; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006], 84 n. 31). This recurring and "typological sense" of exile is not as common, however, as Dennis suggests. The following definitions of exile are, therefore, so important to observe.

7 According to Jonathan A. Goldstein, 1 Maccabees is subdued in claiming that the Hasmoneans fulfilled end-of-exile prophecies, but at the same time clearly disagrees with Daniel and 1 *Enoch* (which I explore below) that it endured beyond the Maccabean revolt ("How the Authors of 1 and 2 Maccabees Treated the 'Messianic' Promises," in *Judaism and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* [ed. Jacob Neusner, William Scott Green, and Ernest S. Frerichs; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987], 74–77).

8 To be sure, Tobit is a novella set after the conquest of the northern tribes, which makes it hard to discern how the reader is to understand the ongoing Diaspora in the first century CE vis-à-vis the historic exile (so Ivor H. Jones, "Disputed Questions in Biblical Studies: 4. Exile and Eschatology," *ExpTim* 112 [2001]: 402; Erich S. Gruen, *Diaspora: Jews amidst Greeks and Romans* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002], 235). But the point remains that if the return of the northern tribes was an end-of-exile hope in any part of the late Second Temple

of Israel (III, 2–6; IV, 2–14), and then equally on the chastening of the exile (III, 11–13; V, 1–6). Then V, 6–16 also comments on God’s kindness in light of the exile, only not in the form of a return.⁹ Rather, God’s mercies are shown to Israel *while they are still in* all the lands to which they were banished (ותחון את עמכה ישראל בכול [ה] ארצות אשר הדחתם שמה; V, 11–12). “And now, on this day” (ועתה כיום הזה; VI, 4) the prayer of VI, 4–VII, 2 is made in the context of this ongoing condition in the hopes that Yahweh will “rescue [his] people Israel from all the lands near and far where [he] has banished them” (הצילה את עמכה [ישראל מכל] הארצות הקרובות והרחוקות א[שר הדחתם]; VI, 12–13, a clear echo of Deut 30:1).¹⁰ Thus, the Diaspora is “part of the residue of the covenantal curses.”¹¹ *Sibylline Oracles* 2:170 also links the state of the dispersed northern tribes to their Assyrian oppressors of long ago.¹² *Fourth Ezra* 13:12, 39–40 does the same, where verses 46–47 anticipate their still-future return.¹³ Thus, these are not just general hopes for anyone outside the promise land regardless of

cultural encyclopedia it was still an *outstanding* hope (see Andrew C. Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John: An Intertextual Study on the New Exodus Pattern in the Theology of John* [WUNT, 2/158; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003], 66–67; Kiefer, *Exil und Diaspora*, 307–18).

9 It is true that 4Q504 V, 9–13 speaks of God’s covenant faithfulness, only it is not a return from Babylon (Rodney Alan Werline, *Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism: The Development of a Religious Institution* [SBLJL 13; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998], 148). The “return” is a form of obedience (לשוב עודך ולשמוע בקולכה; line 13) and seeking after God (למפקודכה; line 16). But this occurs while still in all the lands to which they have been exiled (lines 11–12), still in their time of distress (בצר לנו; line 16).

10 Esther G. Chazon shows how columns V and VI are heavily dependent on Deut 30:1–3 (“Gathering the Dispersed of Judah: Seeking a Return to the Land as a Factor in Jewish Identity of Late Antiquity,” in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* [ed. Lynn DiDonnici and Andrea Lieber; JSJSup 119; Leiden: Brill, 2007], 167–69). The significance of Deuteronomy 30 is explained below.

11 Werline, *Penitential Prayer*, 156.

12 J. J. Collins (*OTP* 1:330–31) says that *Syb. Or.* 2:154–176 “is surely Jewish”, free of later Christian redaction, and likely pre-70 CE.

13 Cf. R. J. Coggins and M. A. Knibb, *The First and Second Books of Esdras* (CBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 267–70; Michael E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 387, 404–405; Bruce W. Longenecker, *Eschatology and the Covenant: A Comparison of 4 Ezra and Romans 1–11* (JSNTSup 57; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 124–30. Fuller is right that the people’s condition abroad is quite favorable, even idyllic, as though they are living in an alternative promise land (*Restoration*, 79–82). My point here is simply that there was still a hope for a return out of the situation begun with the Assyrian conquest (even using Isa 11:15’s second exodus language). Fuller himself recognizes this: “Nonetheless, it is the land of Israel to which the tribes return” (*ibid.*, 82).

The use of *4 Ezra* in this survey is tentative, however; 3:1 suggests it was written around 100 CE and, therefore, not truly part of Matthew’s cultural encyclopedia.

how they were dispersed.¹⁴ But they trace the dispersion of which they speak explicitly back to the eighth century BCE.¹⁵ Israelites living in the Diaspora are, thus, still experiencing *the exile*.¹⁶

Yet, more than reflecting on the condition of Diaspora Jews (as though *they* are in exile), several texts are also concerned with what it means for all Israel if *anyone* is still abroad.¹⁷ These texts understand Israel as a singular theological entity whereby those living in the land, while they themselves have “returned”, exist in indissoluble covenantal solidarity with those still abroad.¹⁸ To revisit Tobit, judging by 14:3–7 the exile of the northern tribes seems to be of the same theological cloth as that of the southern tribes. After Tobit’s confidence that God will again gather the northern tribes (13:6) he goes on to predict the exile of the southern tribes, whom he calls οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν from πᾶσα ἡ γῆ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ (14:3–4). Tobit 14:7 then expresses the hope that the faithful remnant from both

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- 14 By comparison, *Pss. Sol.* 17:18 seems to speak of the scattering inflicted by Pompey, and Sir 36:10–13 [EB 13–19] and *Rewards* 164–165 do not delineate specifically how the “tribes of Jacob” came to be “slaves” in “captivity.” These texts certainly express the eschatological hope of their return, but do not explicitly provide a definition of *the exile* (ongoing or otherwise). So too Bryan, “Exile,” 68–72.
 - 15 James M. Scott also makes a good case that in the LXX “interpretations of exile and return . . . show that the translators were very keen to apply the text of Scripture to their own situation in Egypt” (“Exile and the Self-Understanding of Diaspora Jews in the Greco-Roman Period,” in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions* [ed. James M. Scott; JSJSup 56; Leiden: Brill, 1997], 186). His best evidence for this (*ibid.*, 185–93) is found in the way the Hebrew *Vorlage* has been updated in LXX 2 Chr 29:9, Isa 11:15–16, and Jer 36:4 to envelop the community’s current situation (cf. also LXX Deut 29:27; 4 Kgds 17:23; Jer 35:4).
 - 16 To be clear, the issue here is not what Diaspora Jews *thought* about their condition, but whether there are any examples in the cultural encyclopedia of their condition defined as exile. Gruen argues that texts from the Diaspora show no signs of an ongoing exilic self-awareness, but only theological reflections on the sixth century BCE to warn that and future generations (*Diaspora*, 232–52). This does seem to be the case with the *Letter of Aristaeas*. But Gruen does not give space for the diversity of thought across the cultural encyclopedia. See instead Chazon, “Gathering,” 159–75.
 - 17 See Robert P. Carroll, “Deportation and Diasporic Discourses in the Prophetic Literature,” in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions* (ed. James M. Scott; JSJSup 56; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 63–85.
 - 18 Fuller, *Restoration*, 25–48; see also James M. Scott, “‘And then All Israel will be Saved’ (Rom 11:26),” in *Restoration: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Perspectives* (ed. James M. Scott; JSJSup 72; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 507–15; Richard Bauckham, *Gospel Women: Studies of the Named Women in the Gospel* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2002), 88–92.

kingdoms will be regathered into all the lands given to Abraham (πάντες οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ . . . ἐπισυναχθήσονται . . . ἐν τῇ γῇ Ἀβραάμ).¹⁹

Second Maccabees 1–2, alleged to be written from Jerusalem to Jews in Egypt (1:1, 10), demonstrates the same solidarity.²⁰ Nehemiah's restoration is clearly affirmed in 1:18–26, 30–36; 2:13. But in 1:27–29 Nehemiah is said still to have hoped for a regathering of “*our*” dispersed people (τὴν διασπορὰν ἡμῶν), to the end that *their* God's people (σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν) would be in *their* God's holy place (καταφύτυσον τὸν λαόν σου εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἁγίον σου).²¹ Thus, much was accomplished by Nehemiah, but not everything necessary for restoring Israel.²² With recent events, however, 2 Macc 2:18 is confident that this still-outstanding regathering into the land will soon take place (ἐλπίζομεν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ ὅτι ταχέως ἡμᾶς ἐλεήσει καὶ ἐπισυνάξει ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον).²³ “Envisioned is . . . the reversal of the process begun in the time of Jeremiah (2:1–2) and the fulfillment of the return begun under Nehemiah (1:20).”²⁴ The exile is not over, therefore, even for those in the land, until these Egyptian Jews, as well as others, return home.²⁵ If *all* Israel has not returned, then Israel as a corporate reality is still in exile.²⁶ As Michael E. Fuller posits, “Until the return

19 For more on Tobit, see Fuller, *Restoration*, 26–32; Kiefer, *Exil und Diaspora*, 307–18.

20 With 2 Maccabees, as with other texts reviewed here (especially the *Damascus Document*), the goal is not to discover the true origins of the texts nor the communities that used them, but to understand *what is in the texts*. Thus the interest is more in how these groups described their origins than the actual historical events.

21 See esp. Fuller, *Restoration*, 45–47.

22 “The prayer asks for the fulfillment of Deut 30:4 . . .; the people are still enslaved (as threatened at Deut 28:68) and despised (as threatened at Deut 28:37)” (Jonathan A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 41A; New York: Doubleday, 1983], 179). Again, the significance of Deuteronomy 28 and 30 is explored below.

23 Second Maccabees 2:4–8 is a bit confusing. The reader is clearly led to believe that the glory cloud has indeed returned (2:10–11, 13). According to 2:7–8, this means the ark has been found after God has indeed gathered his people. But this is *an* assembly of people (συναγὰγή ὁ θεὸς ἐπισυναγωγὴν τοῦ λαοῦ), which is not the same as the larger regathering of everyone hoped for in 1:27 and 2:18 (thus the reference to the universal territories in these two verses as well as the the different verb ἐπισυνάγω, whereas merely συνάγω is used in 2:7).

24 Robert Doran, *2 Maccabees: A Critical Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 62.

25 So too Goldstein, “Authors,” 84–85.

26 This is where the distinction between the *two* exiles of the northern and southern tribes—while historically considerable—is not very helpful for understanding Second Temple Judaism. Pace Brant Pitre, *Jesus, the Tribulation, and the End of the Exile: Restoration*

of those outside the homeland, all of Israel, *even those already within the Land*, remains (theologically) in exile.”²⁷

Deuteronomic Curse

But in many texts the geographic location of Yahweh's people is of little concern compared to *their covenantal status*. In these texts the language (and theology) of Deuteronomy 27–32 is invoked (often refracted through Jeremiah 25; 29 and/or Daniel 9) to reflect on Yahweh's plan for Israel.²⁸ The deuteronomic cycle is simply sin-exile-restoration. Texts that draw upon that pattern consistently show that the cycle is still incomplete, with Israel still in the middle stage: exile.

Daniel 9:11–14 understands the sixth-century BCE exile of “all Israel” (v. 11) in terms of the covenant curse of Deut 28:15–46.²⁹ But just as Deut 30:1–5 also promises a regathering and restoration at the time of repentance, so Dan 9:15–19 offers that necessary repentance.³⁰ Daniel is prompted to do such because of his reading in the prophet Jeremiah where he observes that the exile would last 70 years (Dan 9:2–4). The angel's response (Dan 9:24), however, provides a new understanding of the duration of the covenant curse: not 70 years as Jer 25:11–12; 29:10–14 states, but 70 *weeks* of years! That is, the exile will last

Eschatology and the Origin of the Atonement (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005; repr. from WUNT 2/204; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 31–40; Dennis, *Jesus' Death*, 81. See also *Ant.* 11:131–133 where the experience of the ten and the two tribes are distinguished, but also both associated with the *Babylonian* exile.

- 27 Fuller, *Restoration*, 26 (emphasis original); see also Kiefer, *Exil und Diaspora*, 331–34.
- 28 See esp. Odil Hannes Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes in Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum* (WMANT 23; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchene, 1967), 110–28, 146–84; Donald E. Gowan, “The Exile in Jewish Apocalyptic,” in *Scripture in History and Theology: Essays in Honor of J. Coert Rylaarsdam* (ed. Arthur L. Merrill and Thomas W. Overholt; PTMS 17; Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1977), 206–12; James M. Scott, “‘For as Many as are of Works of the Law are under a Curse’ (Galatians 3.10),” in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel* (ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders; JSNTSup 83/SSEJC 1; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 194–213; Werline, *Penitential Prayer*, 109–31, 156–58; N. T. Wright, “In Grateful Dialogue: A Response,” in *Jesus & the Restoration of Israel: A Critical Assessment of N. T. Wright's Jesus and the Victory of God* (ed. Carey C. Newman; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1999), 257–61; idem, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God* (vol. 4 of *Christian Origins and the Question of God*; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013), 139–57, 162.
- 29 So too *inter alia* Scott, “Works of the Law,” 198–201; Carol A. Newsom, *Daniel: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2014), 295.
- 30 Verse 20 makes it clear that Daniel is interceding on behalf of all Israel, not just his own personal situation.

seven times longer than expected. This is a new understanding of exile.³¹ On the one hand, its end can be said, in a very real sense, to have occurred with Ezra and Nehemiah (as the texts above indicate). This is surely the understanding in Ezra 1 whose author also read Jeremiah (cf. v. 1). The same text in Ezra 9:8–9, however, calls this only a little reviving (מְעַט מִחַיָּה/ζωοποίησιν μικράν ἐν τῇ δουλείᾳ ἡμῶν), for they are still slaves (אֲנַחְנִי בְּיַעֲבָדִים/ἐτι δοῦλοί ἐσμεν; cf. also Neh 9:36), which also hints to this sophisticated development.³² But in Daniel 9 the exile is placed in a larger redemptive-historical cycle that will last much longer; the exile is not a brief disappointment in Israel's story, but *the* historical turning point vis-à-vis Yahweh's covenant expectations and promises à la Deuteronomy 28–30.³³ The point could be that the deuteronomic curse will last exactly seven times longer than the captivity in Babylon. Or the 70 weeks of Dan 9:24 could simply refer to a full and extensive—though less than specific—period of time.³⁴ Either way, by intertexting with Deuteronomy 28–30 and Jeremiah 29 the “exile” is portrayed as a very long redemptive-historical era defined as the experience of Yahweh's covenant curses. And yet

31 But see Ezek 4:1–6.

32 See F. Charles Fensham, *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 128–30; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezra–Nehemiah* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1988), 183, 307; Leslie C. Allen and Timothy S. Laniak, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* (NIBCOT; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2003), 75–76; Piotrowski, “After the Deportation,” 196–97.

33 As Peter R. Ackroyd states, “It is in effect an exile lasting 490 years, and with this we reach an understanding of exile and restoration which takes us well beyond the consideration of the sixth century. Here the exile is no longer an historic event to be dated in one period; it is much nearer to being a condition from which only the final age will bring release. Though bound to the historical reality of an exile which actually took place in the sixth century, the experience of exile *as such* has become the symbol of a period, viewed in terms of punishment but also in terms of promise. . . . The understanding of the exile is clearly enlarged far beyond the temporal considerations of seventy years and the precise period covered by Babylonian captivity in the stricter sense” (*Exile and Restoration: A Study of Hebrew Thought of the Sixth Century BC* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968], 242–43; italics original).

34 See John Goldingay, *Daniel* (WBC 30; Dallas: Word, 1989), 257–58. Roger T. Beckwith contends, however, that various Jewish groups did see in Daniel 9 (as well as other texts that draw upon Jeremiah's 70 years; see Table 4 below) a precise date regarding the coming of the Messiah/dawn of the messianic age (*Calendar and Chronology, Jewish and Christian: Biblical, Intertestamental and Patristic Studies* [AGJU 33; Leiden: Brill, 1996], 217–75). He concludes, however, that while these groups understood Daniel to offer a precise date, they could not precisely agree—even within their own groups—as to when the counting of years starts, and how the weeks/years work.

Deuteronomy envisions but one divine plan for the ages: if Israel sins they will go into exile, but Yahweh will forgive and restore them.³⁵ Until that last move, therefore, Israel remains in that middle period: exile.³⁶ Thus, exile is defined in these texts as the ongoing experience of the covenant punishment that befell the covenant people at first in the sixth century BCE. As N. T. Wright avers, exile is “the time of desolation begun by the Babylonian destruction.”³⁷

Other texts also evince this deuteronomic framework, sin-exile-restoration, some even invoking Daniel and/or following this Danielic kind of reflection on Jeremiah. Consistently, these texts place their communities in the middle stage still awaiting the final restoration. In 2 Macc 7:5–6 seven pious brothers and their mother find courage in the face of horrible torture because they believe that “the Lord God is watching” and “will have compassion” (παρκαλείται) *as Moses sung in Deut 32:36*.³⁸ Moreover, they testify that they are in their situation because of the sins of the nation (cf. 7:18, 32, 37–38) just as Dan 9:11–14 confesses, and they look for the end of God’s “wrath” (v. 38) as the exile is so defined in Dan 9:16. Thus, James M. Scott concludes, “These references to Deuteronomy 32 and Daniel 9 show that the seventh brother hopes for final restoration of Israel after the period of exile, which, from his perspective, climaxes in the crisis under Antiochus Ephiphanes (cf. Dan. 9.25–27).”³⁹

Jubilees 1 contains a description of Israel’s history as foretold to Moses on Mount Sinai. After entering the land (v. 7), idolatry and forgetfulness of God’s commands (vv. 8–12, 22) result in removal by capture and scattering (v. 13). Verse 15 then describes the repentance and restoration in the very clear language of Jer 29:10–14 (and possibly also Deut 30:1, 19), and verse 23 in the language of Deut 30:6.⁴⁰ Only this Jeremian restoration is certainly not the sixth-century BCE return, for it is the conclusion of Israel’s history, after which Israel will *never again* turn away from their God (v. 23). In other words, after

35 Steck, *Israel*, 189–92; Knibb, “Intertestamental Period,” 192–207; Wright, *New Testament*, 215–23, 241–43, 260–62; idem, *Faithfulness of God*, 109, 139–146, 160–62.

36 Steck, *Israel*, 184–89.

37 N. T. Wright, “Theology, History and Jesus: A Response to Maurice Casey and Clive Marsh,” *JNT* 69 (1998): 111; see also idem, “Grateful Dialogue,” 257–60.

38 The uses of the third person singular hithpael in MT Deut 32:36 and third person singular passive in the LXX (reflected at the end of 2 Macc 7:6) make analysis difficult. But the point is less the grammar and more the simple observation of where the brothers look to interpret their situation.

39 Scott, “Works of the Law,” 206.

40 See also Werline, *Penitential Prayer*, 111.

the conquest there are only three stages to Israel's history: sin, exile, restoration. There is nothing after that. The restoration is the culmination of history.⁴¹ And the purpose of writing it down is so that Israel will not believe that their covenant God has abandoned them "when all these things happen to them" (v. 6), a very clear reference to Deut 30:1. Thus, *Jubilees* 1 uses the deuteronomistic pattern—sin, exile, restoration—to frame all of history, leaving the author and audience in that middle category of ongoing exile, waiting for the culmination, waiting for the lifting of the deuteronomistic curse.⁴²

Finally, while neither Jeremiah nor Daniel feature in the *Damascus Document*, the deuteronomistic sin-exile-restoration pattern is clearly present.⁴³ Column 1, line 9 calls the exile a time of blind groping, a nod to Deut 28:29. Lines 3–7 call it "an period of wrath" that lasted 390 years counting from the time of Nebuchadnezzar. This is clearly a reference to Ezek 4:4–5 which says the years of Israel's punishment must be so long.⁴⁴ The community has done the requisite repenting (line 10) in accord with Deut 30:1–3, and are now the (true) returnees. Thus, "the exile and the emergence of the community are linked immediately together, and it is the latter which brings the former to an end."⁴⁵ Another way to look at this text is to read the additional twenty years (lines 9–10) as a placement of the community in the middle of the additional forty years of Ezek 4:6. Thus, the exile is *almost* over, and the covenanters are

41 Verse 4 says Moses' vision is that of "all the days of the Law and the testimony." And verses 26–29 say that which Moses sees and writes is the beginning and the end, until the living God "descend[s] and dwell[s] with them in all the ages of eternity . . . in their midst forever and ever . . . the day of the new creation" (translation from O. S. Wintermute in *OTP*). On the nature of these two books, see James L. Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of its Creation* (JSJSup 156; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 1–2, 26–27. It is unclear to me, however, why Kugel softens the language of eternity.

42 See also Betsy Halpern-Amaru, "Exile and Return in Jubilees," in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions* (ed. James M. Scott; SJSJ 56; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 127–144.

43 See esp. Michael A. Knibb, "Exile in the Damascus Document," *JOT* 25 (1983): 109–14; repr. in *Essays on the Book of Enoch and Other Early Jewish Texts and Traditions* (SVTP 22; Leiden: Brill, 2009).

44 This is another example of where the northern and southern exiles are not differentiated: Ezek 4:4–5 counts 390 years for *the house of Israel*, but CD 1, 5–6 takes the 390 years from the time of Nebuchadnezzar who took *the house of Judah* (Knibb, "Intertestamental Period," 201).

45 Knibb, "Exile in the Damascus Document," 113; see also idem, *The Qumran Community* (CCJC 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 19–22, 32–33; Werline, *Penitential Prayer*, 127–28.

the advanced guard of the restoration.⁴⁶ Either way, the exile is again described as an ongoing phenomenon in the language of Deuteronomy 27–30, that of covenant curse.⁴⁷

To summarize this definition of exile it is helpful to look at the relationship between several texts. Deuteronomy 27–32 pronounces curses and blessings upon the covenant people, the ultimate curse being exile. The covenant Lord, however, will restore Israel after the exile. That is Yahweh's one plan for the ages: the deuteronomic cycle of sin-exile-restoration. While Jeremiah 25; 29 predicts such restoration will occur 70 years after the onset of exile, texts like Daniel 9, Ezekiel 4, *Damascus Document* 1, and 4QMMT envision the exile as a much longer period *because the "return" in the sixth century BCE did not complete the deuteronomic cycle*. Daniel 9 particularly draws from Deuteronomy 27–32 and Jeremiah 25; 29 to develop this understanding of a much longer exile. Works like 1 *Enoch* 89–90, *Testament of Levi* 16–17, *Jubilees* 1, and 2 Maccabees follow Daniel in this move.⁴⁸

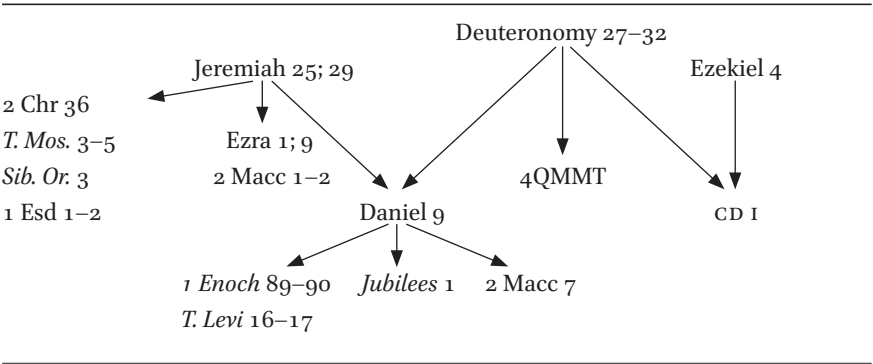
46 So Shemaryahu Talmon, "Waiting for the Messiah: The Spiritual Universe of the Qumran Covenanters," in *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (eds. Jacob Neusner, William Scott Green, and Ernest S. Frerichs; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 117–21.

47 For Paul's use of Deuteronomy 27–30 see esp. Scott, "Works of the Law," 187–94, 213–21; idem, "All Israel," 520–26. On *Testament of Levi* 16–17 see Knibb, "Intertestamental Period," 198–99.

48 Steven M. Bryan, however, contends that these texts "downgrade" the significance of the exile (*Jesus and Israel's Traditions of Judgement and Restoration* [SNTSMS 117; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002], 17–19). They teach "not an expansion of exile to allow its use in an extended sense, but a reduction of the exile's significance in order to ameliorate the difficulty created by the prophets' close association of exile and redemption" (ibid., 19). But "the combination of Deuteronomy and Daniel, and their regular retrieval in the[se] key sources" (Wright, *Faithfulness of God*, 162) hardly has the effect of reducing anything. To the contrary; repetition has the effect of *emphasis*. Nonetheless (though I do not concede the case), if Bryan's point could stand, it simply begs the question why writers would have thought they needed to ameliorate the difficulty of that association.

Downing also challenges this interpretation saying these texts speak only of an incomplete restoration, which is not the same as ongoing exile ("Exile," 154–60). This seems like a distinction without a difference, however. Deuteronomy envisions a *full* restoration; anything short of that is exile.

TABLE 4 *Textual relationships around the concept of exile in the late second temple cultural encyclopedia*



In sum, while Jeremiah’s “return” was an historic reality it did not complete the deuteronomic cycle of sin-exile-restoration, for oppression at the hands of the Gentiles has continued up to the current time. Until Israel is fully restored, the current age can only be described as one of ongoing exile.

Apocalypticism

This concern with the divinely prescribed course of history leads naturally to texts with distinctly apocalyptic characteristics. As with texts that define exile in terms of the deuteronomic curse, these also see the exile as a redemptive-historical demarking event. The end of the exile will usher in the new eon, as the author and audience live right up against the final border of history. Until the new age dawns, therefore, there can be nothing other than ongoing exile.⁴⁹

First Enoch 89–90 puts forward a theological interpretation of Israel’s history as told in the form of a vision of the future.⁵⁰ When the children of Israel are

49 Knibb, “Intertestamental Period,” 194–99; Gowan, “Exile,” 215–20; VanderKam, “Exile,” 94–104, 109; Werline, *Penitential Prayer*, 120–26; Christoph Berner, *Jahre, Jahrwochen und Jubiläen: Heptadische Geschichtskonzeption im Antiken Judentum* (BZAW 363; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 511–12; see additionally David E. Aune with Eric Stewart, “From the Idealized Past to the Imaginary Future: Eschatological Restoration in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature,” in *Restoration: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Perspectives* (ed. James M. Scott; JSJSup 72; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 147–77.

50 Translation of *1 Enoch* throughout this chapter from George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: The Hermeneia Translation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012).

taken into exile (89:55–58) “the Lord of the sheep” appoints *seventy* shepherds to tend them (89:59), the number of which is surely drawn from the Jeremian tradition.⁵¹ Only these shepherds exceed their allotted authority and oppress the sheep (89:61, 65–66), while a writer is appointed to audit their actions (89:61–64, 70–71). Three of the sheep eventually return to rebuild (89:72).⁵² But the oppression of the seventy shepherds persists (89:74).⁵³ The other animals are, of course, the Gentiles at whose hands the dispersion and oppression continue and, in fact, worsen (89:75).⁵⁴ “This continued scattering is the proof that the Exile did not end with the return from Babylon and construction of the Second Temple.”⁵⁵ Moreover, the reporting of all this—from the time of the destruction of the temple to *after* the historic “return”—is all placed in one book (89:62–64, 70–71, 76–77).⁵⁶ Thus, in *1 Enoch* 89–90 the exile is not merely scattering, but various kinds of oppression at the hands of Gentiles over a long and monitored period of time since the destruction of the temple.⁵⁷ Things seem to turn around at last with the new community that finally has opened

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- 51 Knibb, “Intertestamental Period,” 194–95; Scott, “Works of the Law,” 207; VanderKam, “Exile,” 100; Newsom, *Daniel*, 300.
- 52 Are these three sheep Zerubbabel, Joshua and Nehemiah, seeing as they are builders (cf. Ezra 2:1–2; Hag 1:1–2, 14; esp. Sir 49:11–13)? Or perhaps these are the tribes of Judah, Benjamin and Levi per Ezra 1:5 (Fuller, *Restoration*, 66). Some manuscripts say only two return (Patrick A. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* [SBLJL 4; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993], 338–39).
- 53 The presence of about half the original number of shepherds (90:1; the original number could have been thirty-five; see Tiller, *Animal Apocalypse*, 345) suggests the exile is only half over. Indeed, under their care the sheep are still devoured by the wild animals (90:2). These are different animals than those in 89:55, and thus different Gentiles—presumably the Seleucids—but the effect on the sheep is the same: they are eaten (89:56–58; 90:2–4). Knibb suggests the animals are “probably directly influenced by the symbolism of Dan 7 and 8” (“Intertestamental Period,” 194).
- 54 So too VanderKam, “Exile,” 99; Bryan, “Exile,” 64.
- 55 Tiller, *Animal Apocalypse*, 341.
- 56 It might appear in 89:71–72 that the exile is a specifically demarked era that ends with the return of the three sheep, for the book is set down. But it reads most naturally to take the book of vv. 76–77 as the same book, seeing that nothing changes and the topic of concern is still these seventy oppressive shepherds. Plus, this same writer is still writing in 90:14.
- 57 As with Ezra 1; 9 and 2 Maccabees 1–2, *1 Enoch* has a two-tier perspective on the end of the exile: the historic sixth-century BCE “return” followed by an unremitting oppression. “The word *exile* never surfaces in the symbolic narrative of the Animal Apocalypse, but the language of dispersion is used and continues to be employed even after the end of the historical exile (see, e.g., 89:75). For the author, exile was an ongoing condition that would soon end with the final judgment” (VanderKam, “Exile,” 100; emphasis original).

eyes (90:6, 9). But a significant portion of the original seventy shepherds are still active (90:5, 13, 17) and the same writer appointed at the time of the exile is still writing in 90:14, 17! The point is that the devastation begun in the exile is not redressed by “the Lord of the sheep” until long after the historic return, when he himself acts through his appointed man. Then comes the judgment of all the earth, the seventy shepherds receiving extended attention (90:22–23, 25). Finally the temple is reconstructed (90:28–29), and the sheep are only then liberated (90:33). Thus, the exile is not portrayed as a finite period confined to the sixth century BCE, but actually the *dawning of an era* that stretches to the eschaton and is marked primarily by the abuse of the seventy shepherds.⁵⁸

The “Apocalypse of Weeks” (1 *En.* 93:1–10; 91:12–17) demonstrates a similar negative attitude to the post-exile era,⁵⁹ while *Testament of Levi* 14–18, *Testament of Judah* 23–24, *T. Zeb.* 9:6–9, *T. Dan* 5:7–13, and *Jub.* 1:9–17, 22–25 push the age of the exile right up to the eschaton.⁶⁰ These texts are similar to those above that employ the deuteronomic cycle in so far as the age of the exile is a redemptive-historical point of demarcation between the eons.⁶¹

Sectarianism

Being on the right side of history means others, of course, are not. Another way to understand the meaning of exile in late Second Temple Jewish texts is through the lens of the prevalent sectarianism. The exile is used by various groups as a rhetorical tool to promote their ideals and recruit to their causes.⁶² In so doing, these texts distinguish their communities from other groups as Israel is regathered *from Israel*, and “claim themselves to be the legitimate heirs of Israel, laying claim to the heritage and eschatological promises of the whole.”⁶³ In this way, the exile becomes an exploitable theological trope for conceptualizing “true Israel”: those who have joined the sect are part of the restoration (or at least the nucleus of the restoration to which others must unite).⁶⁴

58 See also Tiller, *Animal Apocalypse*, 325, 364.

59 Both Apocalypses “seem to have attached strikingly little theological significance to the historic return from exile” (Perrin, “Exile,” 31). Similarly in 4 *Ezra*; see Knibb, “Intertestamental Period,” 208–209.

60 See also Steck, *Israel*, 150–51; Knibb, “Intertestamental Period,” 203–205; Gowan, “Exile,” 218; VanderKam, “Exile,” 94–104; Werline, *Penitential Prayer*, 117–20, 124–26; Kiefer, *Exil und Diaspora*, 339–49, 361–70.

61 So too Ackroyd, *Exile*, 243, 251–54.

62 See Robert P. Carroll, “Israel, History of (Post-Monarchic Period),” *ABD* 3:570–76.

63 Fuller, *Restoration*, 48–75; quote from p. 51. See also esp. Werline, *Penitential Prayer*, 109–59.

64 Fuller, *Restoration*, 51–52.

This emphasis is shot through the literature, and so we revisit texts already considered to see some of the rhetorical effects of their theologizing. The *Damascus Document* very clearly lines the covenanters up against their adversaries (see esp. CD I, 14–II, 13; VI, 11–VII, 6), while defining themselves vis-à-vis the exile (CD I, 3–12 [see above]; III, 10–16; VI, 4–11; VII, 9–VIII, 1).⁶⁵ The *Halakhic Letter* (4QMMT) reflects on the curses of the exile that have come upon Israel (section C, lines 10–13, 17–21) in order to mark the community off “from the multitude of the peo[ple]” (lines 7–9; [מרו העם]). They are the ones who have truly repented from the heart (lines 14–16, 21–22) as expected in Deut 30:1–2, whereas others only increase in their wickedness (line 22).⁶⁶ “The examination of *Jubilees* and the ‘Apocalypse of Weeks’ shows that disillusioned authors in this period could recast Israel’s history through their own biases in order to make themselves the true restored community.”⁶⁷ And 1 *Enoch* 89–90, as mentioned above, establishes the “ones with open eyes” as the true returnees.⁶⁸ Thus, while some texts emphasize Israel’s solidarity (see the “Continuing Diaspora” subsection above), others use the exile as a socially defining and excluding concept. “Only those who had gone through the exile—whether actually or spiritually—could be thought of as belonging.”⁶⁹ To put it another way, “the scope of the deuteronomic cycle shifts from national to sectarian.”⁷⁰

The State of the Temple

Finally, the role of the temple cannot be overlooked in exploring the meaning of exile in the late Second Temple cultural encyclopedia. All the texts discussed so far weave several (often eschatological) concerns into their reflections upon

65 Knibb, “Exile in the Damascus Document,” 109–11; Werline, *Penitential Prayer*, 126–35; Fuller, *Restoration*, 52–60.

66 A lot more could be said about the DSS, where “meditations on the exile to Babylon were incorporated into nearly every historical movement of the sect and even formed the framework for their understanding of God’s future dealings with Israel” (Martin G. Abegg Jr., “Exile and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions* [ed. James M. Scott; JSJSup 56; Leiden: Brill, 1997], 118). For more on Qumran, see esp. *ibid.*, 111–125; Kiefer, *Exil und Diaspora*, 230–306; Perrin, “Exile,” 33–34.

67 Werline, *Penitential Prayer*, 110–20; quote from p. 128.

68 Fuller, *Restoration*, 68–73; “the author writes on behalf of a Jewish group which defines Israel in terms that suggest a delimiting of Israel” (*ibid.*, 61).

69 Ackroyd, *Exile*, 243.

70 Werline, *Penitential Prayer*, 158.

and theologizing of the exile.⁷¹ None appear as consistently as the state of the temple, however.⁷² The demolition of Solomon's temple was a quintessential mark of the sixth-century BCE exile. As long as the second temple does not measure up to the first, or attain to its glorious stature described in the prophets (cf. esp. Ezekiel 40–46), the condition of exile persists.⁷³

As mentioned above, 1 En. 89:72 acknowledges the sixth-century BCE return. But verses 73–74 call the subsequent sacrifices “polluted and not pure” as the sheep continue in dim sightedness. It is not until 90:28–29, after the judgment of the 70 shepherds (90:25), that the text speaks of a *positive* “new house” anywhere comparable to Solomon's (89:50). Likewise, *Jubilees* 1:17 speaks of a final sanctuary among the people (cf. also vv. 27–28).⁷⁴ Its construction will coincide with the regathering of the scattered from among the nations (v. 15; again interwoven with the language of Jeremiah 29). The same is observed in *T. Ben.* 9:2.

The Dead Sea Scrolls particularly hit this emphasis, where “the community viewed itself as a replacement of the Jerusalem temple.”⁷⁵ *Rule of the Community* (1QS) VIII, 5–10 calls the *Yahad* “a holy house for Israel” and “a holy of holies for Aaron” (cf. also IX, 6) that atones for the land, themselves the savory and acceptable sacrifice. This will comprise the community as more come to join them, the true Israel (V, 12–13) along Isaiah's end-of-exile roadway (V, 14–16; cf. Isa 40:3). Similarly, CD III, 17–IV, 4 calls this end-of-exile community the true priests of Israel, and VI, 11–18 distinguishes them from the then-current temple authorities. See also the *Temple Scroll* (11QT^a) and the *Halakhic Letter* (4QMMT) where obsessions with the temple and what it should be are poignant. Some texts “appropriated the role of Babylonian exile returnees” for the community, itself a “functional substitute temple.”⁷⁶ Yet all Israel's restoration from exile was incomplete so long as the current Jerusalem temple and priesthood remained impure (1QM I, 2–3; II, 3; VII, 11; 4QpIsa^e v, 6).⁷⁷

71 So Aune with Stewart, “From the Idealized Past,” 147–77; Andrew M. Mbuvi, *Temple, Exile and Identity and 1 Peter* (LNTS 345; London: T&T Clark, 2007), 16–20; cf. also E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 77–119, esp. 79; idem, *Judaism: Practice and Belief*, 63 BCE–66 CE (London: SCM Press, 1992), 290–98.

72 Mbuvi, *Temple*, 15–21, 44–69; Perrin, *Jesus*, 4–13, 17–37; cf. also Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 61–90; Kipp Davis, “Prophets of Exile: 4QApocryphon of Jeremiah C, Apocryphal Baruch, and the Efficacy of the Second Temple,” *JSJ* 44 (2013): 497–529.

73 Mbuvi, *Temple*, 16.

74 See also Halpern-Amaru, “Exile,” 142–43.

75 Mbuvi, *Temple*, 54.

76 Ibid., 18, 53–59.

77 Ibid., 19–20; see also Talmon, “Waiting,” 119–21, 125–28.

Even in 2 Maccabees, while

the fire from the Solomonic temple was miraculously kept burning in the second temple—allowing for the understanding of a continued presence of God even during the time of the temple's desecration—the second temple marked only “an important abatement of God's wrath” but definitely not the end of the exile.⁷⁸

And so even texts that promote optimism and national success still lie in the shadow of larger temple expectations.

Thus, Andrew M. Mbuvi concludes that the general attitude toward the second temple was “one of dissatisfaction,” not living up to Isa 11:11–17 (cf. also 2:2; 56:7; 60:4–13) and Ezek 29:21–29.⁷⁹ The lack of a functioning temple served, therefore, as an icon of the exile.⁸⁰ In turn, “[r]estoration from exile was to be epitomized by the reestablishment of the temple and the *cultus* (Isa. 11.11–17; Ezek. 29.21–29; Hag. 1.1–5; *Jub.* 1.15–17; *T. Benj.* 9.2).”⁸¹

Summary

What has been gathered by the Model Reader on this inferential walk through the cultural encyclopedia? On the one hand, a number of late Second Temple Jewish texts recognize the sixth-century BCE return to the land as the end of the exile. On the other hand, many texts exhibit dissatisfaction with the sixth-century BCE “return from exile,” and therefore envision the exile as an ongoing experience/theological crisis among those who believe the God of Israel is the only living God with definite plans for Jews and the nations. The texts point to several theological realities in articulating this. (1) Many Jews are still dispersed among the nations. They themselves may or may not perceive themselves in exile, but texts concerned with Israel's corporate solidarity speak of the need for all the scattered to return if the exile is to end. (2) Many texts defer to

⁷⁸ Mbuvi, *Temple*, 17; see also Goldstein, “Authors,” 83–85.

⁷⁹ Mbuvi, *Temple*, 44. Haggai 2:3, 9 (cf. also Ezra 3:12) expresses disappointment in the sixth-century BCE reconstruction as well (see Mbuvi, *Temple*, 49).

⁸⁰ Downing does point out, nonetheless, that 2 *Baruch* and 4 *Ezra* both see the events of 70 CE as “a catastrophic repetition of 586 BCE”, a perspective hard to imagine if Herod's temple had no positive theological value (“Exile,” 161–62).

⁸¹ Mbuvi, *Temple*, 44. See also Philip S. Alexander (“Was the Ninth of Av Observed in the Second Temple Period?: Reflections on the Concept of Continuing Exile in Early Judaism,” in *Envisioning Judaism. 1. Studies in Honor of Peter Schäfer on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013], 23–38) for an argument based on Second Temple Jewish liturgies commemorating the Babylonian destruction of the temple.

Deuteronomy 27–32 to understand the exile under the larger banner of covenantal curses and promises. If Israel is not the head of the nations (cf. Deut 28:13) then their oppression at the hands of the Gentiles can only mean one thing: the deuteronomistic cycle of sin-exile-return remains incomplete. Exile endures. (3) This raises apocalyptic hopes (and fears) that the time for the in-breaking of the new age must be near, on the other side of which is the end of the exile. (4) Some will come out of exile at this time (some are beginning to already), and others will not. Nothing less than the rights to Israel's heritage is at stake. And (5) that day will involve a new temple and cultus, the rebuilding of Israel's largest theological icon that was destroyed at the onset of the sixth-century BCE exile. Until that day, until that rebuilding, the absence of a legitimate temple, in these texts' opinions, means exile persists. Finally, it should be noted how many texts interweave these concerns.⁸² The cumulative effect is to define exile as an unresolved multidimensional theological dilemma.

End of Exile as a Davidic Hope in the Late Second Temple Cultural Encyclopedia

One particular component of the OT's vision for the end of the exile is the reenthronement of the house of David. In the previous chapter I explored Micah 3–5 in this regard. The reader can also see this dynamic in Isaiah 10:20–11:16; Jeremiah 23:1–8; 30:1–11 [LXX 1–9]; 33:1–18 [LXX 40:1–13; 33:14–18]; Ezekiel 34; 37:15–28; Hosea 3; Amos 9:9–15; Zechariah 12–13.⁸³ This is an understandable expectation vis-à-vis 2 Samuel 7.⁸⁴ David is promised an eternal dynasty. But that line was cut off during the exile. This expectation is what makes 2 Kgs 24:18–25:7 so unspeakably horrible. Not only is the Davidic King Zedekiah captured,

82 See esp. Keifer, *Exil und Diaspora*, 432–36. “Exile” also provided a metaphorical category for interpreting various kinds of suffering after the sixth century BCE (see esp. Bradley C. Gregory, “The Postexilic Exile in Third Isaiah: Isaiah 61:1–3 in Light of Second Temple Hermeneutics,” *JBL* 126 [2007]: 489–92; Martien A. Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile: The Metaphorization of Exile in the Hebrew Bible* [VTSup 141; Leiden: Brill, 2011]; Jill Middlemas, “The Future of ‘Exile,’” in *By the Irrigation Canals of Babylon: Approaches to the Study of Exile* [eds. John J. Ahn and Jill Middlemas; LHB/OTS 526; New York: T&T Clark, 2012], 63–81).

83 A concise survey can be found in Antti Laato, *A Star Is Rising: The Historical Development of the Old Testament Royal Ideology and the Rise of the Jewish Messianic Expectations* (ISFCSJ 5; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 109–18, 151–85, 216–18, 236–40.

84 See also Genesis 49:8–12; 1 Chronicles 17; Psalms 2; 89; 132; Isaiah 8:23–9:6 [EB 9:1–7]; 16:4–5; 22:20–25; 55:1–5.

but the last thing he sees before he is rendered forever blind is the slaughter of his sons. This is not just cruel, but the reader is to feel the despair of the final disappointment of the Davidic promises. For the last thing this Davidide sees is the extinction of the Davidic line! Yet the narrative offers the slightest recovery of hope in 2 Kgs 25:27–30.⁸⁵ There the *previous* king, Jehoiachin—whose story was over as far as the narrative world is concerned (see 2 Kgs 24:12, 15)—is shown favor in Babylon. In fact, the last word of the book is יְהִי [ζωῆς αὐτοῦ]! Thus, the hope of the return of the Davidic king is sustained by the narrowest of threads. The prophetic texts above foresee the dynasty's return at the end of the exile, at the time of regathering when Israel's fortunes are restored. As part of the cultural encyclopedia, they are important texts for the Model Reader. All this goes to say, a major *OT* icon of the exile is the lack of a ruling Davidide.⁸⁶

When the reader explores the late Second Temple literature, however, this emphasis on David, while present, is noticeably muted.⁸⁷ Of the afore-

85 So too Laato, *Star*, 34–36.

86 Equally, the ruling Davidic house will be part of the restoration from exile in Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Zechariah (see J. J. M. Roberts, "The Old Testament's Contribution to Messianic Expectations," in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* [ed. James H. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992], 46–50).

87 See esp. Paolo Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and its History* (trans. William J. Short; JSPSup 20; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1990), 156–67; Kenneth E. Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judasim: Its History and Significance for Messianism* (SBLEJL 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 127–229. Were it not for the perceived abuses in the early first-century BCE leadership it may not have resurfaced at all in the Jewish cultural encyclopedia. Jonathan A. Goldstein writes, "The disappearance of the Davidic dynasty after the times of Zerubbabel and Nehemiah created problems for those who believed in the promises that the dynasty would last forever and return to rule. The hope in an ideal Davidic king is conspicuous by its absence from the surviving Jewish literature written after Nehemiah and before the reign of Alexander Jannaeus" (*I Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 41; New York: Doubleday, 1976], 241). John J. Collins also writes of the second century BCE that "[t]here is relatively little textual evidence from that period for the hope that the Davidic line would be restored" ("Messianism in the Maccabean Period," in *Judaism and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* [ed. Jacob Neusner, William Scott Green, and Ernest S. Frerichs; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987], 98). But, "[w]ith the discontinuance of the royal line of David in the wake of the conquest of Jerusalem by the Babylonians in 586 BCE ... [t]he fervent hope that the *māšīah absconditus* will be revealed again in another Davidic anointed indeed did not cease altogether" (S. Talmon, "The Concepts of *Māšīah* and Messianism in Early Judaism," in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* [ed. James H. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992], 91; cf. also Tromp, "Davidic Messiah," 180; Konradt, *Israel*, 18). Laato, however, contends that it never waned at all, even from the 5th to 2d century BCE (*Star*).

mentioned ongoing exile texts, only four seem to employ Davidic language.⁸⁸ *Testament of Judah* 24 might be the strongest. In reaffirming that the tribe of Judah will produce the messiah, the text brings Num 24:17 (v. 1) and LXX Isa 11:1 (vv. 5–6; cf. also MT Jer 23:5; 33:15) within the interpretive orbit of Gen 49:8–10.⁸⁹ And 4 *Ezra* 13:32, 37, 52 sees “my son/servant” restoring the ten tribes (compare 12:31–32).⁹⁰ But while CD VII, 9–21 intertexts with Amos 9:11, the scroll applies it to *the congregation*, not the reestablishment of Davidic sovereignty.⁹¹ Even the *Words of the Luminaries*^a remembers the election of David’s house (IV, 5–8), but does not refer to it again in VI, 4–VII, 2 when the hope for restoration is expressed.⁹²

Other restoration texts at Qumran—4QFlor III, 7–13; 4Q252 1 v; 4Q285 7; 4Q369—also reflect briefly on the pertinent parts of several of the above-mentioned Davidic OT texts, projecting their hopes into the future.⁹³ Insofar as they engage in intertextual conversations with these OT Davidic end-of-exile texts, they draw those narrative worlds into their own. Sadly, however, the manuscripts are too fragmentary to say more. But surely the hope was present and relevant in these once-extant texts.⁹⁴

88 Fuller also comments that “in most texts of restoration, there is no mention of a Davidic messiah” (*Restoration*, 170).

89 Sacchi observes, however, how David is not specifically mentioned, but “replaced by the wider name of Judah” (*Jewish Apocalyptic*, 163).

90 Cf. Michael E. Stone, “The Concept of the Messiah in IV Ezra,” in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough* (ed. Jacob Neusner; SHR 14; Leiden: Brill, 1968), 295–312; idem, *Fourth Ezra*, 368–69. See n. 13 above, however, for my hesitancy to put too much weight on 4 *Ezra*.

91 And the star of Num 24:17 is taken as “the Interpreter of the Law.” In fact XIX, 10–11 speaks of the coming of the messiah/s of Aaron and *Israel*. Why not of *Judah* or *David*? Because, as L. H. Schiffman demonstrates, in the *Damascus Document* “[t]he Messiah of Israel . . . is not singled out to be Davidic” (“Messianic Figures and Ideas in the Qumran Scrolls,” in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* [ed. James H. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992], 119).

92 Pomykala (*Davidic Dynasty*, 172–80) also does not see a relevant Davidic theology here. Though, to be sure, there are several lacunae in the manuscripts.

93 See also the *Rule of Blessings* (1QSb) v, 20–29 and of course 4QpIsa^a 8–10 III, 11–24 (cf. Schiffman, “Messianic Figures,” 124, 125–26). Pomykala (*Davidic Dynasty*, 191–203), however, sees the injection of the priestly figure into *Florilegium* and *Pesher Isaiah* as a relativizing/subordination of the coming Davidide.

94 See John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1995), 58–63. In these texts Isaiah 11 is particularly popular.

Finally, *Psalms of Solomon* 17:4–10 most vigorously defends David's right to an eternal line, and verses 21–44 longingly hope for the rise of the Son of David.⁹⁵ But this hope is in the context of Pompey's invasion, not Nebuchadnezzar's.⁹⁶

Some texts, on other hand, appear to go out of their way to *silence* Davidic hopes. Jonathan A. Goldstein has shown how 1 Maccabees intentionally subverts Davidic messianism, trying to espouse instead that the Hasmoneans have now earned the right to rule.⁹⁷ Though less supportive of the Hasmoneans, 2 Maccabees nonetheless seeks to marginalize the prophecies of a Davidic heir.⁹⁸ It is ideas like these that seem to prompt *Pss. Sol.* 17:4 to express the Davidic hope so strongly; it had been assailed by others/in other texts.⁹⁹ Verses 5–6 sharply criticize the Hasmoneans because they “desolated the throne of David.” This shows not only a neglect of the Davidic hope, but that (in this text's opinion) others tried to actively suppress it.¹⁰⁰

95 *Psalms of Solomon* 18 can also be mentioned in this vein. Though David is not explicitly mentioned, verse 6's μακάριοι οἱ γενομένοι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις is a verbatim repetition of *Pss. Sol.* 17:44a, showing that no other sort of messianism could possibly be in view. And Sir 47:11, 22 reflects this Davidic theology, but with noticeably less force. Collins says, “For Sirach himself the glory of David belongs to the past” (“Messianism,” 98).

96 Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic*, 163–64; Collins, *Scepter*, 50; Bryan, “Exile,” 72. For a helpful comparison between the Davidic visions of the *Psalms of Solomon* and Matthew, see Joel Willitts, “Matthew and *Psalms of Solomon*'s Messianism: A Comparative Study in the First-Century Messianology,” *BBR* 22 (2012): 27–50. My point here is simply that they have different exiles in view.

97 Goldstein, “Authors,” 74–81; see also Pomykala, *Davidic Dynasty*, 152–59; but see Laato, *Star*, 277–79. Goldstein even sees in 1 Macc 5:61–62 a “most audacious [claim of] the prerogatives reserved for David's line in earlier Jewish tradition” (“Authors,” 80). First Maccabees 2:57 may also intimate that David's throne was only “for ages” and not “forever”; εἰς αἰῶνας could mean either (idem, *I Maccabees*, 240–41). In 2 Sam 7:13, 16 the singular εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα is used to translate the Hebrew עַד־עַד. Thus, 1 Macc 2:57's plural εἰς αἰῶνας could be a subtle way of subverting the *eternal* privilege of David's house to rule without raising ire. See also 1 Maccabees 14 where “the praise of the ideal ruler, once related to the kings of Israel and Judah, was here transferred to Simon” (Johannes Tromp, “The Davidic Messiah in Jewish Eschatology of the First Century BCE,” in *Restoration: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Perspectives* [ed. James M. Scott; JSJSup 72; Leiden: Brill, 2001], 197). While Collins does not see in 1 Maccabees a Davidic-replacement theology, he does nonetheless observe a palpable Davidic-disinterest (“Messianism,” 104).

98 Goldstein, “Authors,” 81–85, 87–88; Collins, “Messianism,” 104.

99 So too Collins, *Scepter*, 49–56.

100 Something similar seems to be going on in *Jubilees* 31 as well (Tromp, “Davidic Messiah,” 194–96).

In all, late Second Temple literature has a much smaller role than the OT for the Davidic line at the end of the exile. And when it does occur, it is less forceful than in the OT. In fact, in the late Second Temple library of extant texts, whether concerned with the exile or not, “there never existed a continuous, widespread, or uniform expectation for a davidic messiah.”¹⁰¹

Returning to the Text of Matthew

The usefulness of such an inferential walk through the cultural encyclopedia for interpreting the first gospel will be determined by the text of Matthew itself. Nothing should be inserted into Matthew’s narrative universe *unless the text itself calls for it*. A set of inferences regarding an ongoing exile is now, nonetheless, at the Model Reader’s disposal—for the idea clearly existed in the cultural encyclopedia—that the text of Matthew can either “actualize” or “narcotize” in the interpretive process. Specifically, while David’s role in the restoration is not widely attested in the noncanonical Jewish literature, it is pervasive in the OT. Thus, as the OT is also part of the late Second Temple cultural encyclopedia (it is just older than the noncanonical literature, but still very much a part of it), the expectation that the ascension of David’s great son to mark the end of the exile is not without precedent.

It would seem, therefore, that Matthew *is* and *is not* unique. The gospel is not unique insofar as concepts of ongoing exile are prevalent across the cultural encyclopedia. Matthew *is* unique among late Second Temple literature, however, in the explicit force with which the eschatological Davidide is put front and center, and particularly as the one leading the end of the exile. In comparison to those texts that do at least hint at a Davidic end-of-exile hope (*Testament of Judah* 24; CD VII, 9–21; *Words of the Luminaries*^a) only Matthew promulgates the belief that the Davidic messiah *has already* arrived on the stage of history. The OT emphasis on David’s role in ending the exile has been muted in the late Second Temple literature; Matthew brings it back with force.

I will return to these considerations throughout the rest of this study, and particularly in the conclusion. For now, the rest of the prologue, with more formula-quotations, is calling to regain the reader’s attention with this thorough awareness of exile and David across the cultural encyclopedia. If 1:1–2:12 provides the temporal setting in redemptive-historical terms, 2:13–21 casts the narrative’s geography in analogous terms.

101 Pomykala, *Davidic Dynasty*, 271.

The Effect of Hosea's and Jeremiah's Narrative Worlds in Matthew 2:13–21

In chapters 2 and 3 I argued that the gospel's first two formula-quotations generate the narrative worlds of Isaiah 7–12 and Micah 3–5, amplifying them over Matthew 1–2. The result is intertextual conversations that contribute to the selection of «David» and «end-of-exile» frames that paint the redemptive-historical setting as one of ongoing exile for Yahweh's people insofar as they are without a Davidic king. Equally, the conversations bespeak Jesus' place at the end of the exile as said Davidic king who defines his people's place on the redemptive-historical calendar. They are Yahweh's end-of-exile people. Who exactly these people are in Matthew's narrative world is uncertain, an open question moving on. This focus on the exile and David is represented in other Second Temple literature as well (chapter 4), though not tied as closely together as in Matthew.

This chapter returns to Matthew's story where two more OT narrative worlds are generated through formula-quotations, Hosea 11 in Matt 2:15 and Jeremiah 30–33 in Matt 2:17–18. I contend that these intertextures reinforce the ongoing exile setting and continue to evoke restoration.¹ The three-way intertextual conversation between Hosea, Jeremiah and Matthew results in a sustained ecclesiological focus whereby Jesus' end-of-exile people (though still unidentified) are further defined: they are in covenantal continuity with the exodus generation, about to embark on their own exodus out of exile. Thus, frames are selected with which the reader can discern this restoration from exile in the narrative going forward.

1 Calvin observes the way the lament of Jeremiah 31:15 is straight away followed in 31:16–17 with “the most delightful consolations.” This dynamic of “mournful complaint” followed immediately by restoration is then carried into Matthew via the quotation to create the same rhetorical effect: “as Jeremiah promises a restoration . . . so Matthew reminds his readers that . . . [Christ will appear] shortly afterwards as the Redeemer” (John Calvin, *Commentary on a Harmony of the Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke* [trans. William Pringle; 3 vols.; vol. 16 of *Calvin's Commentaries*; Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1845–1846; repr., Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981], 1:148–49). Such narratological optimism created by the quotation will be a significant part of this chapter.

Matthew 2:15, 18 in Context

Matthew's third and fourth formula-quotations are situated together in one pericope marked off by an inclusio formed by 2:13–14 and 2:19–21.² The overall structure also forms a chiasm with Herod's actions in verse 16 in the middle, right between the two formula-quotations.³

TABLE 5 *The Matthew 2:13–21 chiasm*

2:13–14	a) Dream, command, obedience of Joseph
2:15a	b) Death of Herod
2:15b	c) Formula-quotation of Hos 11:1
2:16	d) Rage of Herod, death of children
2:17–18	c') Formula-quotation of Jer 31:15 [38:15]
2:19a	b') Death of Herod
2:19b–21	a') Dream, command, obedience of Joseph

This focus on Herod's deed in verse 16 brings the narrative tension created in 2:1–12 to a frightful climax, and places his actions in a redemptive-historical context. As argued in the previous chapter, Matthew has kept the reader in suspense about Herod's role in the story until now.⁴ To be sure, some malice is not difficult to anticipate when reading verses 1–12; it is only at this point, however, that the characterization is complete.⁵ Situated between formula-quotations

2 Most scholars observe this inclusio but nonetheless include 2:22–23 in the pericope. Miler makes a case for reading 2:13–21 as a whole based on these same observations (*Citations*, 45–47). It is unclear, however, why he includes vv. 22–23 when the “indices assez nets de l'organisation” end with the closing of the inclusio in v. 21 (ibid., 47). Richard J. Erickson's identification of an inclusio with Matt 2:13–15 and 2:19–23 is far less precise, even as his own presentation of the evidence demonstrates as the “material . . . not matched” bulks when considering v. 22 (“Divine Injustice?: Matthew's Narrative Strategy and the Slaughter of the Innocents [Matthew 2.13–23],” *JSTT* 64 [1996]: 8–9). He even admits “the parallels in vv. 13–14 and 19–20 are more striking than those that follow” (ibid., 9 n. 12).

3 So too Erickson, “Divine Injustice?,” 10.

4 Luz also sees Herod's actions occupying a place of prominence, and the narrative goal to which 2:3–8 points (*Matthew*, 1:118).

5 Of course the first century reader would have already suspected Herod was up to no good given his reputation (cf. *Jewish Antiquities* 14–19; *Jewish War* 1–2; Richard A. Horsley, *The*

that reference the exodus and exile, Herod is at one and the same time cast as the Pharaoh and the Babylonians, both of whom killed Israel's children (Exod 1:15–16, 22; Hos 10:14; Ps 137:8–9[136:8–9]).⁶ He is the latest manifestation of the infanticidal oppressors at the times of Israel's captivities. The case for such characterization is a cumulative one that I will touch on throughout my consideration of 2:13–21 and its intertextual conversation with Hosea 11 and Jeremiah 30–33.⁷

Yet, as discussed in the previous chapter, Herod is not cast as a solitary figure. The chief priests and scribes are associated with him and are, therefore, also implicated in his murders, which is itself a manifestation of their opposition to Jesus.⁸ This is particularly brought to the reader's attention in verse 20 with the plural οἱ ζητοῦντες τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ παιδίου.⁹ It is not only Herod who wants to see Jesus dead. This furthers the way the leaders are ominously cast without explicit statement; the reader will keep an apprehensive eye on them. The formula-quotations grab most of the attention in this pericope, however, and give hermeneutical direction for that which the Matthean narrative alone only insinuates. In considering the Matthean side of the intertextual conversation I will examine the immediate context of both quotes in turn.

Matthew 2:13–15, 19–21

It is typically averred that the quotation of Hos 11:1 in Matt 2:15—“out of Egypt I called my son”—is contextually misplaced. In the discourse Jesus and his family are *still in* Egypt at the time of the quotation. It would seem to fit better

Liberation of Christmas [Eugene, Ore.: Wipf & Stock, 1989], 40–49). Without having already heard the story, however, the reader would not have known that *such* indiscriminate killing was about to ensue. The Model Reader, therefore, will not overlook the tensive build-up through 2:1–12.

- 6 Hays writes, “Herod’s murder of the innocents takes its place alongside Pharaoh’s decree against the Hebrew boy babies (Exod 1:15–22) and also alongside the defeat and exile of Judah in Jeremiah’s time” (*Reading Backwards*, 42). For the casting of Herod as a kind of Pharaoh, see also *T. Mos.* 6.5–6; Nolland, *Matthew*, 125–26 n. 173. Keener points out that Egypt’s king also feared at the birth of Israel’s deliverer in *Ant.* 2.206 as Herod did in Matt 2:3 (*Matthew*, 102–103).
- 7 Howard Clarke simply says, “Herod plays the role of the hard-hearted Pharaoh” (*The Gospel of Matthew and its Readers: A Historical Introduction to the First Gospel* [Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2003], 23).
- 8 M. J. J. Menken, “The References to Jeremiah in the Gospel According to Matthew (Mt 2:17; 16:14; 27:9),” *ETL* 60 (1984): 10.
- 9 Pace Hagner, there is nothing in the text to suggest the plural refers to “Herod’s servants (who after Herod’s death were no longer in power)” (*Matthew*, 1:39).

after verse 21. Luz calls this “the main problem” with the quotation insofar as it “does not fit the immediate context.”¹⁰ Gundry’s solution is an attractive one; he argues that the participle ἐκ denotes temporal sequence without negating egress from Egypt.¹¹ As I will argue below, however, this reading does not make sense of the Hosean context, in which case nothing would be actualized from the prophet and no meaningful conversation with Matthew would emerge. Miler’s argument that the point is not so much that they got out of Egypt but merely that they were saved seems to avoid, more than solve, the problem of the quote’s placement.¹² Similarly, France’s solution that “the ἐξ is simply not important” meets the same objection.¹³ Several scholars have argued that Matthew’s interest is in merely associating Jesus with Egypt, not movement in any direction per se.¹⁴ Matthew, however, describes *events* that fulfill Scripture, not mere “associations.” And the observation that Matthew wants to reference geographic locations still says nothing of the quotation’s *placement*. Raymond E. Brown contends that the reference to the exodus must come logically before the exile (2:18).¹⁵ If that were the rationale, however, only *mentioning* the exodus would come before *mentioning* of the exile. The actual *events* would still be flipped: exile events in verse 16 and exodus events in verse 21. A cogent interpretation must account for everything in the text and the effect the arrangement of material has on the discourse.¹⁶ Given the deficiencies in the explanations above, it seems that Rothfuchs is on the right track when he contends that Matthew “versteht die Notiz aus der Geschichte Israels in Hos 11:1 als ein Propheten-Wort, das dort in jener Flucht Jesu *nach* Ägypten erfüllt.”¹⁷

The quotation could anticipate the events of 2:21 (making vv. 16–21 a flashback describing events that ensue between vv. 14 and 15).¹⁸ Such an understanding would logically subordinate the formula-quotation to the prepositional phrase ἕως τῆς τελευτῆς Ἡρώδου. Three observations, however, disfavor it. First, verse 16 begins with the preposition τότε, which suggests that the ensuing events of

10 Luz, *Matthew*, 1:118.

11 Gundry, *Use*, 93–94. Cf. BDAG 297–98.

12 Miler, *Citations*, 50.

13 France, “Formula-Quotations,” 125 n. 23.

14 See Stendahl, “*Quis et Unde?*,” 97; Strecker, *Weg*, 5; Soares Prabhu, *Formula*, 217; France, “Formula-Quotations,” 121–22, 125; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:262–63.

15 Brown, *Birth*, 220; so too Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:36.

16 See Kennedy for further critiques of these “solutions” (*Recapitulation*, 132–35).

17 Rothfuchs, *Erfüllungszitate*, 63; emphasis added.

18 So Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:261; Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:36; Miler, *Citations*, 51–53; Nolland, *Matthew*, 122–23; France, *Matthew*, 79; see also G. K. Beale, “The Use of Hosea 11:1 in Matthew 2:15: One More Time,” *JETS* 55 (2012): 707–708.

2:16–21 occur *after* Jesus is called “out of Egypt.”¹⁹ Second, I comment above that verses 13–14 and 19–21 form an inclusio. Not all the words and phrases are in exact parallel, however.

TABLE 6 *The Matthew 2:13–14/2:19–21 inclusio*

Matthew 2:13–14	Matthew 2:19–21
a Ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν	a' Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἡρώδου
b ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος κυρίου φαίνεται κατ' ὄναρ	b' ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος κυρίου φαίνεται κατ' ὄναρ
c τῷ Ἰωσήφ λέγων·	c' τῷ Ἰωσήφ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ λέγων·
d ἐγερθεὶς παράλαβε τὸ παιδίον καὶ τὴν	d' ἐγερθεὶς παράλαβε τὸ παιδίον καὶ τὴν
e μητέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ φεύγε εἰς Αἴγυπτον	e' μητέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ πορεύου εἰς γῆν Ἰσραήλ·
f καὶ ἔσθι ἐκεῖ ἕως ἂν εἶπω σοι·	f'
g μέλλει γὰρ Ἡρώδης ζητεῖν	g' τεθνήκασιν γὰρ οἱ ζητοῦντες
h τὸ παιδίον τοῦ ἀπολέσαι αὐτό.	h' τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ παιδίου.
i ὁ δὲ ἐγερθεὶς παρέλαβεν τὸ παιδίον καὶ	i' ὁ δὲ ἐγερθεὶς παρέλαβεν τὸ παιδίον καὶ
j τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς	j' τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ
k καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον . . .	k' καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς γῆν Ἰσραήλ.

Key: **unparalleled words/concepts**; **conceptually inverted geographic locations**

Line f, the imperative to “stay there until I should speak to you,” has no parallel in verses 19–21 (no f'). The prepositional phrase ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ in line c', describing where Joseph is when the angel appears to him again, has no parallel in verses 13–14 (no geographic reference in line c). With the additional exception of νυκτὸς (line j), every other element of verses 13–14 has a semantic/syntactical or conceptual parallel in verses 19–21 and vice versa. Thus, “[t]he elements

19 Davies and Allison seem to ignore their own observation that Matthew typically employs this “connective particle introducing a *subsequent* event taking place at an unspecified time” (*Matthew*, 1:264; emphasis added). See also Miler, *Citations*, 46, 64.

of the narrative that are different stand out all the more.”²⁰ The reader’s attention, therefore, is drawn to the fact that Joseph is commanded to *stay in Egypt* until he receives further revelation (line f). This revelation does not come until verse 19, where for good measure the reader is reminded that Joseph is *still* ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, which is the outlier in line c’. This places the fulfillment of Hos 11:1 in Matt 2:15 when Jesus and his family are *in Egypt*. Thus Matthew takes pains to reinforce for the reader in several ways that the “fulfillment” of Hos 11:1 occurs *before* Jesus leaves geographic Egypt, thus weakening the reading that 2:15 is proleptic to 2:21.²¹ Third and finally, Miler points out that in every other case, “chacune des CA interprète l’épisode qui la précède immédiatement.”²² The reader does not expect Matthew to break from his own practice. Therefore, the more natural reading of the formula-quotation is to subordinate it to the phrase ἦν ἐκεῖ in verse 15. Thus Jesus’ departure *to* and residence *in Egypt, out and away* from the land of Israel, fulfills the prophet’s words.

In light of these observations, Rothfuch’s suggestion (quoted above) gains weight. If Herod is a Pharaoh-like character, then the quotation of Hos 11:1 could not be more appropriately placed; it inverts the redemptive-historical roles of Egypt and Jerusalem.²³ The latter is now the place of captivity for Yahweh’s people, and the former the place of refuge!²⁴ A close reading bears this out.²⁵

For one, the quotation’s placement itself makes this point. Compositional theories aside, a narrative reading has to take into account what is on the page, not the long process that may or may not have led to what is on the page. Thus,

20 Luz, *Matthew*, 1:117. See also Soares Prabhu, *Formula*, 219–22. Neither, however, elucidates what these differences contribute to the narrative.

21 Even Miler observes that coming out of Egypt is not as explicit as going down (*Citations*, 48). When Jesus does return the focus is by far and away more on the entry into the land of Israel than coming out of Egypt (2:21).

22 Ibid., 47. But Miler seems to disregard his own observation when he concludes that “the end of Herod” in v. 15 is the final event that Hos 11:1 “fulfills,” and that the reader can infer that Joseph will be obedient to return to Israel when told (ibid., 48–49). The most recent event in v. 15 is merely that Joseph “was there” (ἦν), not that he or his family came out. Though ἕως τῆς τελευτῆς Ἡρώδου informs the reader how long Joseph is there, it does not relate what happened next. Additionally, the imperative to “be/stay there” (ἵσθι ἐκεῖ) in v. 13 tells the reader only that Joseph will be in Egypt until the angel speaks to him again, not what the angel will tell him to do at that time. That which Miler suggests the reader can infer is still *beyond* the quote of Hos 11:1; it does not “précède immédiatement.”

23 Similarly Keener, *Matthew*, 109 n. 107.

24 While Egypt has been the place of refuge in several OT stories (1 Kgs 11:17, 40; 2 Kgs 25:26; Jer 26:21; 41:16–18; 43:4–7), none of them cast *the land of Israel* in the light that Matthew does, which is more to the point.

25 Special thanks to Jon Laansma for helping me think through this.

the commentary in verse 15 that God's son (obviously Jesus per Matt 3:17; additionally by virtue of his Davidic heritage [cf. 2 Sam 7:14] so clearly emphasized in 1:1–2:12)²⁶ is called out of Egypt (ἐξ Αἰγύπτου) while departing *into* Egypt (εἰς Αἴγυπτον; line e in Table 6) is itself a comment on the land of Israel and its leadership in Jerusalem.²⁷ Thus Israel is cast as metaphorical “Egypt,” the place of captivity and death for Yahweh's people, while geographical Egypt is the place of temporary refuge. Where these places are on the map is not significant for Matthew's *intentio operis*. Rather, the redemptive-historical characteristics that are assigned to them carry the rhetorical weight. Israel is *Egypt*.²⁸

Additionally, the subtle but powerful genitive of time, νυκτός, evokes the exodus story as well. It too is an outlier in the inclusio (line j in Table 6), giving it special rhetorical weight.²⁹ Exodus 12:8–12, 29–31, 42 says the Israelites fled Pharaoh's Egypt in a hurry *by night*.³⁰ Insofar as Jesus and his family flee the land of Israel νυκτός and depart εἰς Αἴγυπτον the role reversal of the locations is reinforced. The nighttime is flight-from-Egypt-time.

Finally, the rationale for why Joseph can take the child back to the land of Israel in verse 20 furthers the Israel as Egypt metaphor. The semantic volume of Exod 4:19 in Matt 2:19–20 invites a powerful comparison: Egypt is to Jesus as *Midian* was to Moses, and the land of Israel is to Jesus as *Egypt* was to Moses.³¹

26 See Luz, *Matthew*, 1:120–21.

27 So too Erickson, “Divine Injustice?,” 14.

28 See also Brian M. Nolan, *The Royal Son of God: The Christology of Matthew 1–2 in the Setting of the Gospel* (OBO 23; Fribourg/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 37 n. 2 (“Now Jerusalem is ‘Egypt.’”); Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church Under Persecution* (2d. ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 38; Dan McCartney and Peter Enns, “Matthew and Hosea: A Response to John Sailhamer,” *WTJ* 63 (2001): 98; Kennedy, *Recapitulation*, 110–11, 134–41.

29 So too Erickson, “Divine Injustice?,” 15.

30 See also Soares Prabhu, *Formula*, 222; Nolan, *Royal Son*, 37 n. 2; Erickson, “Divine Injustice?,” 15; Kennedy, *Recapitulation*, 135. Pace Miler, the placement of νυκτός in v. 14 suggests more than just haste (*Citations*, 49–50).

31 Luz says Matthew's use of the plural τεθνήκασιν can only be explained through this allusion to Exod 4:19 (*Matthew*, 1:119 n. 13; see also Gundry, *Matthew*, 38). It can also be explained by the presence of the chief priests and scribes in 2:4, but the evidence for the influence of Exod 4:19 remains. The additional similarities between Exod 4:20 and Matt 2:21 bolster this allusion (Rudolf Pesch, “Der Gottessohn im matthäischen Evangelienprolog [Mt 1–2]: Beobachtungen zu den Zitationsformeln der Reflexionizitate,” *Bib* 48 [1967]: 414). See also Myles M. Bourke, “The Literary Genius of Matthew 1–2,” *CBQ* 22 (1960): 161–66; Allison, *New Moses*, 142–46, 152; Erickson, “Divine Injustice?,” 15–16; Wayne S. Baxter, “Mosaic Imagery in the Gospel of Matthew,” *TrinJ* 20 [1999]: 70–71; Kennedy, *Recapitulation*, 127, 137–38.

TABLE 7 *The Mosaic allusion in Matthew 2:19–20*

MT Exodus 4:19	LXX Exodus 4:19	Matthew 2:19–20
	μετὰ δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας τὰς πολλὰς ἐκεῖνας ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου	τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἡρώδου
וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה	εἶπεν δὲ κύριος	ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος κυρίου φαίνεται κατ' ὄναρ
אֶל-מֹשֶׁה בְּמִדְבָּר	πρὸς Μωυσήν ἐν Μαδιαμ βάδιζε	τῷ Ἰωσήφ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ λέγων· ἐγερθεὶς παράλαβε τὸ παιδίον καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ
לֵךְ פֶּשֶׁתְּ מִצְרָיִם בְּיַמְּתוֹ כְּלִי-אֶשֶׁן	ἄπελθε εἰς Αἴγυπτον τεθνήκασιν γὰρ πάντες	καὶ πορεύου εἰς γῆν Ἰσραήλ· τεθνήκασιν γὰρ
הַמְבַקֵּשׁ תְּנִיחָהּ	οἱ ζητοῦντές σου τὴν ψυχὴν.	οἱ ζητοῦντες τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ παιδίου.

Key: conceptual geographic parallels; semantic/syntactical parallels

Moses fled to Midian for safety when Pharaoh wanted to kill him (Exod 2:15).³² From there he was called by Yahweh to return to Egypt, the place of captivity, to participate in rescuing the covenant people from the oppressive regime. Jesus, likewise, is called to leave the place of safety, now Egypt, and return to the place of the people's captivity, the land of Israel (cf. 2:21), to thence save "his people" (cf. 1:21).³³

32 Matthew does not use ἀναίρῶ anywhere else, and is likely influenced by LXX Exod 2:15 (France, *Matthew*, 82 n. 1). See also Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:33, 39; Erickson, "Divine Injustice?," 15; Keener, *Matthew*, 107.

33 The text does not actualize any imagery of the patriarch Joseph going down to Egypt, *pace* C. H. Cave who make his case based on the *apparent* opposite directions that Moses and Jesus travel ("St Matthew's Infancy Narrative," *NTS* 9 [1962–1963]: 388–89), as does George M. Soares Prabhu ("Jesus in Egypt: A Reflexion on Matt 2:13–15, 19–21 in Light of the Old Testament," *EstBib* 50 [1992]: 234–36). Even farther afield are stories about Jacob and Laban, *pace* Daube, *New Testament*, 190–91. Allusions to Num 24:7–8 through Hos 11:1 (Lindars, *New Testament*, 216–17) might bear some weight, but seem to necessitate too tortuous a path for the reader to rove (see also Carson, *Matthew*, 92 n. 15). Deirdre Good's argument, that the use of ἀναχωρῶ in the entirety of Matthew is motivated more

This reading demonstrates that in Matthew's context the quotation of Hos 11:1 is "misplaced' *logically*,"³⁴ and is consistent with the argument made in the previous chapter that Matt 2:3–4 denotes a form of captivity to Herod and the chief priests and scribes.³⁵ Together, therefore, these pericopae characterize Israel's leaders as Israel's captors and the land of Israel as the place of captivity.³⁶ As the first redeemer left Egypt and returned to it at the death of Pharaoh, so too the eschatological redeemer leaves "Egypt" and returns to it at the death of the new "Pharaoh." If this reading appears problematic because it uses Egypt in two senses in a short space—one geographic, one metaphorical—it is shown below that Hosea 11 does the same thing, providing intertextual precedent for Matthew.³⁷

by Wisdom's withdrawal in apocalyptic sources than by Moses' flight from Pharaoh in Exod 2:15 ("The Verb ANAXΩPEΩ in Matthew's Gospel," *NovT* 32 [1990]: 1–12), operates on the unproven thesis that Jesus is the embodiment of Wisdom in the gospel. Jon Laansma, however, has cast serious doubt on the cogency of that reading ("*I Will Give You Rest*": *The Rest Motif in the New Testament with Special Reference to Mt 11 and Heb 3–4* [WUNT 2/98; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997], 159–208), calling it "a conceptual framework which is of doubtful value to Matthew's purposes" (*ibid.*, 160). The case here is not made that Matthew's use of ἀναχωρέω alone actualizes Exod 2:15, but the whole collection of ideas does, esp. μέλλει γὰρ Ἡρώδης ζητεῖν τὸ παιδίον τοῦ ἀπολέσαι αὐτό in Matt 2:13 (compare ἐζήτει ἀνελεῖν Μωυσήν in Exod 2:15) and the more certain allusion to Exod 4:19 in Matt 2:19–20.

34 Kennedy, *Recapitulation*, 140 (emphasis original).

35 Gundry (*Matthew*, 38) says it is the Jewish leaders, cooperating with Herod, who are causing Jerusalem to be Egypt.

36 Galatians 4:25 shows explicitly that Jerusalem as a place of slavery was not unprecedented among the first Christians. See also Rev 11:8.

37 Kennedy seems to subvert the evidence he himself presents for a similar metaphorical reading when he states that Jesus' movement corresponds to both Moses' and Israel's history (*Recapitulation*, 125, 127–28, 133, 136, 138–39, 145). After arguing persuasively that Egypt is to Jesus as Midian was to Moses (*ibid.*, 127), he says—without argumentation—that Jesus' movement out of Egypt in 2:21 is parallel to Israel's exodus (*ibid.*, 127–28). In that case geographic Egypt is both the place of safety *and* oppression. To read in this binate way actually weakens both images. Instead, it is more consistent to say that Matt 2:13–15, 19–21 is only a prelude to the Jesus/Israel typology that commences in Matthew 3, not Matthew 2—just as Moses' movements out of Egypt and back thereto were a prelude to the first exodus. Thus, 2:21 is not an exodus like Israel's. Rather, it is the return of the savior to the land of captivity, like Moses' return to Egypt from Midian *right before the exodus*.

Ironically, after rejecting this metaphorical reading, Beale's solution for the quote's placement fails for the same reason: he has to read Egypt in Hosea negatively and Egypt in Matthew positively ("Use," 706–708; esp. n. 26).

Matthew 2:16–18

The events that fulfill Jer 31:15 are brief in their description, accentuating the terror thereof. Tricked by the magi, Herod adds rage to his fear (cf. 2:3) and murders as many children as he deems necessary to eliminate the new king of the Jews (cf. 2:2). The lamentation of these children's mothers is assumed by the quotation. The event and fulfillment of the Scriptures seem straightforward enough, until the conversation between the texts is heard. If Jerusalem is "Egypt" then this event furthers the casting of Herod as a new Pharaoh and Judea as the place of oppression for Yahweh's people.³⁸

**The Narrative Function of the Formula-Quotations in
Matthew 2:15, 17–18**

As with Matt 1:22–23, these two quotations are introduced by the narrator to suspend the narration and interpret the events.³⁹ They arrest the reader's attention and place them in the middle of an intertextual conversation between multiple narrative worlds. These quotes are unique, however, in their close proximity to each other. The rhetorical effect created by interjecting two texts into one pericope is that they create a three-way conversation that selects frames for further reading.

Before moving to the content of the prophets' narrative worlds, however, a distinct element in the formula in Matt 2:17 deserves special attention. The conjunction τότε, instead of the typical ἵνα, is used at the beginning. This exculpates Yahweh of the murders, whereas he immediately ordains the other events "in order that" (ἵνα) the Scriptures could be fulfilled.⁴⁰ Thus, Matt 2:16 fulfills the Scriptures in an accidental way, so to speak. Miler is right to point

38 Michael Knowles's reading that the massacre "anticipates yet graver consequences that will, in Matthew's view, come upon the heads of *all* those who reject the messiah" does not work (*Jeremiah in Matthew's Gospel: The Rejected-Prophet Motif in Matthaean Redaction* [JSNTSup 68; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993], 44; cf. also 52), for the infants in Matthew 2 have not rejected anyone. Knowles's conjecture does not seem to account for what he himself recognizes: Jer 31:15 is a prelude to hope, not further disaster.

39 As Miler says in his narrative study, "Les CA (formule d'introduction + texte cité) font partie du discours interprétatif du narrateur. Par leur intermédiaire, ce dernier interrompt la narration et interprète les événements dont il vient de faire le récit" (*Citations*, 63).

40 This is commonly observed; see esp. Pesch, "Gottessohn," 395–420, esp. 399; Hartman, "Scriptural Exegesis," 131–52; Soares Prabhu, *Formula*, 50–51. See also Rothfuchs, *Erfüllungszitate*, 38–39; McConnell, *Law*, 113–14. On theodicy, see Erickson, "Divine Injustice?," 21–27.

out, however, that this only accounts for why *ἵνα* is not used, not why *τότε* is used.⁴¹ The preposition also has a positive use: to situate the massacre temporally *between* Jesus' departure and return.⁴² This reinforces the reading that the quotation of Hos 11:1 is not proleptic to Matt 2:21.

Hosea 11:1 in Context

More befuddling to scholars than Matthew's placement of Hos 11:1 has been the simple use of the verse at all. It tells of the nation of Israel coming out of Egypt during the exodus.⁴³ Comments like Peter Enns's are not uncommon:

This passage is not predictive of Christ's coming but retrospective of Israel's disobedience. It would take a tremendous amount of mental energy to argue . . . that there is actually something predictive in Hosea 11.⁴⁴

In the following I will argue, however, that the requisite "mental energy" for observing Hosea's prediction is minimal.⁴⁵ The bifurcation of retrospection and prediction is an unnecessary one when dealing with Hosea (most prophets in fact).⁴⁶ To the contrary, the two are inseparably linked as the former serves

41 Miler, *Citations*, 56. Matthew 2:16, after all, already makes it clear that Herod is the guilty party (ibid., 63).

42 Ibid., 64.

43 For a summary and evaluation of issues and "solutions" see Tracy L. Howard, "The Use of Hosea 11:1 in Matthew 2:15: An Alternative Solution," *BSac* 143 (1986): 315–22.

44 Peter Enns, *Inspiration and Incarnation: Evangelicals and the Problem of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2005), 133. Dewey M. Beegle writes, "There is not the slightest hint that the statement was intended as prophecy. Tradition has contended that any adaptation of the original is allowable as long as it proceeds by a true interpretation of the passage. The question is whether Matthew's use of Hosea 11:1 is really a true interpretation" (*Scripture, Tradition, and Infallibility* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973], 237).

45 Pace Beegle (*Scripture*, 237), the hints are palpable.

46 As I argue below, part of the problem with a cursory glance at Hos 11:1 is that it causes interpreters to overlook the larger book-wide appropriation of metaphor—especially the use of historical events to predict the future (see J. Andrew Dearman, *The Book of Hosea* [NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010], 10–14; Göran Eidevall, *Grapes in the Desert: Metaphors, Models, and Themes in Hosea 4–14* [ConBOT 43; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1996], 19–49). Jochen Vollmer argues, "Den Geschichtsbetrachtungen der Propheten Amos, Hosea und Jesaja ist—bei allen Unterschieden im einzelnen—das gemeinsam, daß sie von der Zukunft her konzipiert sind, die Zukunft miteinbeziehen

as the warrant for expectation of and confidence in the latter. Furthermore, the myopic focus on "Christ's coming" precludes interpreters from attending more to the quotation in its Matthean context, namely elucidating a covenantal ecclesiology. This warrant for the expectation of a new exodus and its ecclesiological ramifications is what Matthew actualizes through the generation of Hosea 11.

As a complete work, Hosea divides into two parts.⁴⁷ Chapters 1–3 provide an analogy of Yahweh's complaint against the nation, prophetically lived out.⁴⁸ Chapters 4–14 then make this complaint specific. The first three chapters also provide the pattern of judgment and restoration, grounded in covenantal ideals, that the reader can anticipate throughout the rest of the work.⁴⁹ In the language of this study, chapters 1–3 select a «covenant» frame for reading chapters 4–14.

In Hos 1:2–9 relational monikers given to Israel at the time of the exodus are revoked (Hos 1:6, 9; cf. Exod 3:7, 10; 33:19). Yet, reassignment of these titles is promised in 2:1–2 in the language of the *Abrahamic* covenant ("the sons of Israel will be like the sand of sea"; cf. Gen 22:17).⁵⁰ The next cycle of judgment

und also das Ganze der Geschichte Israels im Blick haben" (*Geschichtliche Rückblicke und Motive in der Prophetie des Amos, Hosea, und Jesaja* [BZAW 119; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971], 199). Speaking specifically of Hosea's use of historical metaphors, he contends that "man wird ihnen auf keinen Fall gerecht, wenn man sie vorschnell historisiert" (ibid., 55). When Hosea speaks of the exodus from Egypt in Hos 11:1 the author is actually "aber schon nicht mehr daran interessiert," but already looking to the future even as he mentions the historical event (ibid., 63).

47 Given that Matthew follows the Hebrew text (see esp. Gundry *Use* 93; Rothfuchs, *Erfüllungszitate*, 62; Soares Prabhu, *Formula*, 216–18; Miler, *Citations*, 47, 50–51; Nolland, *Matthew*, 123), this examination will mainly follow the MT. No quote is more damaging to Menken's thesis that Matthew used a no-longer-extant revised LXX (*Matthew's Bible*, 133–42 et passim).

48 Emmanuel O. Nwaoru makes a strong case for the unity of chs. 1–3 based on the reoccurring metaphor of "harlotry" (*Imagery in the Prophecy of Hosea* [ÄAT 41; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999], 61–66).

Both Israel and Judah are indicted in Hosea; the prophet sees little, if any, difference between them.

49 So too Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 380–82; John H. Sailhamer, "Hosea 11:1 and Matthew 2:15," *WTJ* 63 (2001): 88; Dearman, *Hosea*, 16–17. See also, Charles H. Silva, "Literary Features in the Book of Hosea," *BSac* 164 (2007): 44–48.

50 See Duane A. Garrett, *Hosea, Joel* (NAC 19A; Nashville: B&H, 1997), 28. The Davidic covenant may also be in view by virtue of the "one head" in 2:2 (Silva, "Literary," 45).

and restoration is in 2:3–25. It too rehearses the sins of Israel and threatens judgment, but ends with the promise of restoration. Similar to the previous cycle, it is different nonetheless in that the language of restoration is that of the covenant made with the nation at the *time of the exodus* (Hos 2:17, 22 [cf. Exod 6:7], 25). Hosea 2:20 makes it explicit that this is the prophet's vision of covenant renewal.⁵¹ Finally, the third cycle is in 3:1–5 where the restoration is promised in terms of Yahweh's covenant promises to *David* (3:5).⁵² Thus, in Hosea 1–3 three cycles of judgment and restoration in the language of Israel's historic covenants lay the foundation for expectation as the reader proceeds through the prophet's writing. The cycles, in other words, select that «covenant» frame.

With this expectation, however, the reader must traverse a significant amount of text before the next cycle is complete. Chapters 4–10 offer nothing but indictment and judgment. It is not until chapter 11 that the *restoration* themes of chapters 1–3 reemerge.⁵³ It is there that Matthew's verse of choice, Hos 11:1, is situated. Occurring at the head of this climactic chapter it cannot be read in isolation from its larger book-wide context.⁵⁴

Hosea 11:1 is the beginning of the long awaited promise of restoration that runs through verse 11.⁵⁵ The consistent focus on Egypt through this pericope is

51 Interestingly, the animals, birds and creeping things are evocative of Genesis 1 as well.

52 See Dearman, *Hosea*, 142–45.

53 James Limburg sees the same chapter divisions and relationship between chs. 4–10 and 11, basing his argument on the inclusio formed by *יְבִר־יְהוָה* in 4:1 and *נְאֻם־יְהוָה* in 11:11 (*Hosea–Micah* [IBC; Atlanta: John Knox, 1988], 38). See also Martti Nissinen for the poetic unity of Hosea 4–11 (*Prophetie, Redaktion und Fortschreibung im Hoseabuch* [AOAT 231; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1991], 44–54). Dearman also highlights the parallels between chs. 3 and 11 (*Hosea*, 274–77, 293–94).

54 Says Jörg Jeremias, “Hos 11 ist Abschluß und zugleich Höhepunkt des zweiten Teils des Hoseabuches, der die Kap.4–11 umfaßt” (*Der Prophet Hosea* [ATD 24/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983], 139). Thus, Matthew has not quoted a satellite, but a Hosean kernel that, in its own way, sums up all of the prophet's message (see also Beale, “Use”).

55 Gale A. Yee demonstrates how vv. 1–2 form an inclusio with vv. 10–11 thereby uniting the whole chapter (*Composition and Tradition in the Book of Hosea: A Redaction Critical Investigation* [SBLDS 102; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987], 217–18). So too Eidevall, *Grapes*, 166–67, 180–81; Joy Philip Kakkanattu, *God's Enduring Love in the Book of Hosea* (FAT 2/14; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 31. See Ehud Ben Zvi for other unifying elements (*Hosea* [FOTL 21A/1; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005], 227–28).

determinative for understanding the flow of thought.⁵⁶ Verses 1–4 summarize the exodus, the event through which Israel received covenantal monikers—in this case, “son” (cf. Exod 4:22–23; the only other place in the OT where בְּנִי is used in divine direct speech).⁵⁷ The focus, therefore, is on Israel’s initial formation through the exodus.⁵⁸

But in Hos 11:5 that covenant-definitive event is run backwards as Yahweh declares that his “son” must return to Egypt.⁵⁹ Because Israel refused to “turn” (בָּיַמְנוּ לְשׁוּבָה) from their idolatry, they must “turn” back (לְשׁוּבָה) to the land of Egypt.⁶⁰ Return to Egypt, however, is a cipher for submission to Assyria, the place where Israel’s historic exile began (cf. esp. 9:3). Assyria, then, is the new

56 So too Limburg, *Hosea*, 39–40; Eidevall, *Grapes*, 166–67; Henrik Pfeiffer, *Das Heiligtum von Bethel im Spiegel des Hoseabuches* (FRLANT 183; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 190–99.

57 Dearman, *Hosea*, 278–79, 368–70. See also A. A. Macintosh, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Hosea* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997), 437–38.

58 France, *Matthew*, 80.

59 It seems, based on the LXX and the logic of Hosea 11, that the first word of v. 5 should read לֹא and be attached to the previous colon (so too Hans Walter Wolff, *Hosea: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Hosea* [trans. Gary Stansell; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974], 191–92; Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, *Hosea: A Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 24; Garden City: Doubleday, 1980], 585–86). Alternatively, based only on the logic of Hosea 11, the ל in the MT could read emphatically, meaning “fürwahr” (Willibald Kuhnigk, *Nordwestsemitische Studien zum Hoseabuch* [BibOr 27, Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1974], 134). Yet, if לֹא is retained the point of the verse remains the same if the *waw* of v. 5b is taken as “rather” and/or הוּא is read as an emphatic pronoun (Thomas Edward McComiskey, “Hosea,” in *The Minor Prophets: An Exegetical and Expository Commentary* [ed. Thomas Edward McComiskey; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1992], 188). Or the verse could be read as a rhetorical question: “Will they not return to Egypt?” (Dearman, *Hosea*, 285). All these readings are consistent with other assertions that Israel will go “back to Egypt” (7:16; 8:13; 9:3, 6). Macintosh’s proposal is too dependent on importing information from 2 Kgs 17:4 for which the Hosean text does not call (*Hosea*, 450–52, 468–69). Similarly, Ben Zvi’s solution overlooks that in Hosea (1:8) Israel has indeed “forfeited YHWH’s call” (*Hosea*, 230–31).

60 This play on שׁוּבָה continues in vv. 7–9 where forms of it occur three more times. According to Jörg Jeremias, though שׁוּבָה carries the connotation of moving back, it actually provides an eschatological orientation throughout Hosea (“Zur Eschatologie des Hoseabuches,” in *Die Botschaft und die Boten: Festschrift für Hans Walter Wolff zum 70. Geburtstag* [eds. Jörg Jeremias and Lothar Perlt; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981], 217–34; repr. in *Hosea und Amos: Studien zu den Anfängen des Dodekapropheten* [FAT 13; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996], 67–85). The idea of “turning” back to Egypt as covenant curse is also seen in Deut 28:68 (וְהָשִׁיבְךָ יְהוָה מִצִּרְיָם) in the form of exile (cf. Deut 28:64).

Egypt, and “return to Egypt” is a circumlocution for exile.⁶¹ Thus, the deportation to Assyria “amounts to a reversal of the Exodus (cf. v. 1).”⁶² Return to Egypt is, therefore, a metaphor for the exile as a covenant-reversing event, as though the exodus itself is run backwards (cf. also 8:13; 9:3, 17) and the people lose their covenantal status.⁶³

Egypt is mentioned one last time in 11:11, again in parallel with Assyria. As the frame selected in chapters 1–3 leads the reader to expect, the restoration from the exile has covenantal overtones. It is likened to another exodus from Egypt.⁶⁴ Thus, out of Egypt, back to Egypt, and return from Egypt is the pattern employed by Hosea to elucidate the relational status of Israel to Yahweh in terms of covenant creation, covenant reversal, and covenant reestablishment—the latter two coinciding with the exile and restoration. This return of Israel to the wilderness, the place of the nation’s birth (2:16 [EB 14]; cf. 3:4) is Yahweh’s means of renewing his people.⁶⁵ The eschatological hope is predicated upon the “precondition which God himself created” in the exodus.⁶⁶ Hosea projects an expectation that the people will again “turn” and that

Kuhnigk also suggests that the focus on turning may provide the necessary clue for solving the text-critical issue in 11:5 (cf. n. 59), where נָשׁוּב could be taken to mean “Nein, umkehren muß es ins Ägypterland . . . denn sie sagen nein zur Umkehr” (*Hoseabuch*, 134; ellipsis original).

- 61 Eidevall, *Grapes*, 176. Says Douglas Stuart, “Egypt’ stands as a metonymy for the land of the conquering enemy (cf. 7:13; 8:16; 9:3, 6) and return thereto is the beginning of exile and a reenrance into bondage” (*Hosea–Jonah* [WBC 31; Waco: Word, 1987], 179). See also Yee, *Composition*, 222, 227; McComiskey, “Hosea,” 184, 188; Garrett, *Hosea*, 219, 225; Sailhamer, “Hosea,” 88–89.
- 62 Eidevall, *Grapes*, 176. Nwaoru also calls it “a reverse Exodus” (*Imagery*, 88). Garrett says this is the process by which “God will undo the exodus” (*Hosea*, 219).
- 63 This is where Beale’s objection to reading Egypt metaphorically (“Use,” 714–15) misses the point; specific geography is far less important than *the covenantal significance* of the exile. Isaiah 11:16 is support for my reading; it compares the return from Assyria to the original coming out of Egypt. That they are different locations matters not; it is what they mean to covenantal history that matters.
- 64 So too Wolff, *Hosea*, 203; Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea*, 591–92. Eidevall says Hos 11:11 “presages a return to the beginning” (*Grapes*, 166). The idea of “trembling” also alludes to Exod 19:16 (*ibid.*, 182).
- 65 Wolff, *Hosea*, xxviii. Dearman also sees in the prophet a vision of a new community where north and south are rejoined under one crown—cf. 2:2 [EB 1:11] (*Hosea*, 42–43).
- 66 Wolff, *Hosea*, xxviii. So too Dearman, *Hosea*, 35—“Hosea’s eschatology . . . is patterned on the past.” See also Pfeiffer, *Heiligtum*, 199; Sailhamer, “Hosea,” 88.

Yahweh will again bring his people into covenant relationship with himself as he did with the exodus generation.⁶⁷

The retrospective look at the exodus in Hos 11:1 serves as a foil; it is preparatory for the future predictions in Hos 11:5 and 11:11.⁶⁸ The future expectation of Hos 11:11 is, then, indeed “den theologischen Höhepunkt der Verkündigung Hoseas,”⁶⁹ and is itself predicated upon Hos 11:1. Thus, though Hosea looks back to the exodus in 11:1, *this retrospect has a future orientation insofar as that past event is the warrant for future hope*.⁷⁰ Hence the logic of Hosea is this: because Israel was called out of Egypt, though they return to “Egypt” in exile, the nation will come out again from “Egypt,” out of exile. By virtue of its placement in the larger schema of the book, therefore, the entire chapter orients the rest of the book toward the future. The looking back sets the pattern and therefore warrant for the future expectation.⁷¹ As J. Andrew Dearman puts it, in Hosea’s logic “the future . . . lies open to be a re-creation of another past.”⁷²

Therefore, in the rhetorical world of the prophet, Hos 11:1 is very much a prediction of the future. This is not, however, a simple verbal prophecy; rather it is the *warrant* for, and therefore tied to, the forecast of Hos 11:11. Says Ehud Ben Zvi:

The intended and primary readerships of Hosea 11, and of the book of Hosea in general, are not asked to historicize the text, to look at historical but “well-hidden” clues, but to set it in the frame of that which is presented as an essentially trans-temporal discourse. This built-in claim of trans-temporal relevance is important for the relevance of the text for communities such as those in which one is to find the authorship and target readership of the (present) book of Hosea. These communities lived

67 Additionally, Beale has demonstrated how the lion imagery in Hos 11:10–11 is an allusion to Num 23:22–24 and 24:8–9 (“Use,” 700–703).

68 See also *ibid.*, 707.

69 Jeremias, *Hosea*, 143.

70 See also Wolff, *Hosea*, xxvii–xxix; Sailhamer, “Hosea 11:1,” 87–96; Ben Zvi, *Hosea*, 226; Keener, *Matthew*, 108; Dearman, *Hosea*, 10–14.

71 Other prophetic texts also employ the exodus as a pattern for future redemption (Isaiah 40–55; Jer 16:14–15; 31:31–34; Ezek 20:33–36; 1QS VIII, 14–15) as does much rabbinic literature (cf. Str-B 1:85–88). See also Evans, “Continuing Exile,” 78–85.

72 Dearman, *Hosea*, 14. This is common in Hosea: “Elements from historical tradition are brought forth as means to interpret the present and project the future” (*ibid.*). See also Eidevall, *Grapes*, 166.

centuries later and under very different circumstances than existed in the world in which the character Hosea is set.⁷³

One such community is Matthew and his first-century readership, to which we will return after considering Jeremiah 31 as well.

Jeremiah 31:15 [LXX 38:15] in Context

Reading Jeremiah in Matthean perspective can be difficult given the way it is organized differently in the MT and LXX, thereby altering (albeit slightly) the flow of thought on a macro-level, and so necessitating knowledge of Matthew's text-form. Fortunately for this study, however, the larger unit from which Matthew quotes, MT Jeremiah 30–33, has remained for the most part intact in the LXX (chapters 37–40). The following study will follow the discourse and versification in the MT because it is more likely that Matthew has rendered his own translation thereof, rather than having used a recension of the LXX.⁷⁴

When Matthew's text of choice, Jer 31:15, is examined in its larger context there emerges an eschatological expectation that Yahweh will create a new covenant people through reestablishing David's house at the end of the exile in second-exodus fashion. Again, it will be shown below that statements like "here is the most striking case of disregard of context in the N.T."⁷⁵ are entirely unfounded.

Jeremiah 1–29 contains a litany of accusations against the covenant people—mainly Judah, but also Israel (cf. *inter alia* 11:10). Though the two are distinct, Jeremiah can address them as one entity because he sees a common positive future for them (cf. *inter alia* 3:8, 18). Nonetheless, Jeremiah 1–29 is bleak; it mainly consists of Yahweh's complaint and promise of judgment with only sporadic intimations of hope. Chapter 29 closes the long section on a

73 Ben Zvi, *Hosea*, 238–39. See also Vollmer, *Geschichtliche Rückblicke*, 55–66, 199–211.

74 So too Stendahl, *School*, 102–103; Gundry, *Use*, 95–97; Soares Prabhu, *Formula*, 253–57; Knowles, *Jeremiah*, 36–38; Miler, *Citations*, 57–58. For arguments that show that the author may have had some awareness of the LXX tradition, see *inter alia* Stendahl, *School*, 102 n. 1; Rothfuchs, *Erfüllungszitate*, 63–65. See also Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 144–59.

75 S. L. Edgar, "Respect for Context in Quotations from the Old Testament," *NTS* 9 (1962–1963): 58. More recently, Knowles has stated that Matthew "ignored its original context" (*Jeremiah*, 39; cf. also 41, 43, 52).

promising note as the exiles are told they will have their “fortunes/captives restored” (v. 14).

Jeremiah 30–33 is relentlessly focused on the future restoration, despite Judah's inevitable and imminent exile. This larger unit can be further divided into three prophecies, each beginning with some variation of “The word that came to Jeremiah from Yahweh.”⁷⁶ Chapters 30–31 vacillate between the coming destruction and future restoration, with the majority of attention on the latter. Chapter 32 serves as a prophetic dramatization of the promises Yahweh makes in the previous two chapters.⁷⁷ Jeremiah buys a field as an expression of Yahweh's confidence that Judah will return despite the coming calamity. Jeremiah's own confidence is largely premised on Yahweh's acts in the exodus (32:16–25). Finally, chapter 33 reiterates many of the promises of chapters 30–31, with additional focus on the Levitical priesthood and heightened attention to Yahweh's covenant promises to Israel and Judah by way of an eternal Davidic dynasty (33:14–17). Matthew's quote comes from the first prophetic cycle, chapters 30–31, the discourse of which is significant for the reader.

The overarching content of Jeremiah 30–31 is thematized in 30:3⁷⁸—“Behold, days [are] coming,’ the utterance of Yahweh, ‘when I will restore the fortunes/captives of my people Israel and Judah,’ says Yahweh, ‘and I will restore the land which I gave to their fathers and they will possess it.’”⁷⁹ Several components of this statement define the shape of the restoration from exile: (1) restoration will occur in the “coming days”; (2) it will involve “restored fortunes”; (3) Israel and Judah will both receive the singular covenantal moniker “my people”; (4) and the return to the land is predicated on Yahweh's past actions toward the nation's fathers. Each of these ideas is elucidated in the rest of the prophecy.

First, the exile will end in the “coming days” (יָמִים בָּאִים). This eschatological phrase is reiterated in 31:27, 31, 38; 33:14. Jeremiah 30:24's “In the last days you will understand this,” encourages the reader, therefore, to inquire into these subsequent pericopae. When these texts are read together, it is observed

76 Jeremiah 30:1—לְאָמַר יְהוָה אֶל־יִרְמְיָהוּ מֵאֵת יְהוָה הִנֵּה אֲשֶׁר הָיָה אֶל־יִרְמְיָהוּ מֵאֵת יְהוָה הִנֵּה דְבַר־יְהוָה אֶל־יִרְמְיָהוּ—Jeremiah 33:1—וַיְהִי דְבַר־יְהוָה אֶל־יִרְמְיָהוּ אֶל־יִרְמְיָהוּ מֵאֵת יְהוָה.

77 So too A. J. O. van der Wal, “Toward a Synchronic Analysis of the Masoretic Text of the Book of Jeremiah,” in *Reading the Book of Jeremiah: A Search for Coherence* (ed. Martin Kessler; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 22.

78 So too Barnabas Lindars, “Rachel Weeping,” *JSOT* 12 (1979): 50.

79 The final word of 30:3, וַיִּרְשׁוּהָ, could be translated as “and they [the fathers] possessed” if the ו were read as a *waw* consecutive.

that the end of the exile is marked not only by a geographic return to the land—though certainly not less than that (31:27–28)—but also by several other concomitant events. The “coming days” will bring a new covenant with a unified nation (31:31, 33) that is finally obedient to the law (31:31–33), who knows Yahweh (31:34) and whose sins are forgiven (31:34), living in a restored Jerusalem (31:38–40).⁸⁰ Moreover, the “coming days” at the end of the exile will also bring the fulfillment (literally “the raising”; וְהִקְמִיתִי) of the promise made to Israel and Judah regarding the house of David (33:14–16).⁸¹ Important to notice is the language of 33:14; it is not so much a promise to David as it is *to the covenant people* that they will have a David. Yahweh promises to re-enthrone the house of David (33:15, 17) in order to fulfill his promise to the house of Israel and the house of Judah (33:14). The guarantee of the coming Davidide is a pledge *to the people*.⁸² In effect, *Israel and Judah cannot be Yahweh’s eschatological end-of-exile people without a new covenant and without a new David*.

Second, in Jer 30:3 Yahweh promises to “restore the fortunes of [his] people Israel” (וְשִׁבְתִּי אֶת־שְׁבוּת עַמִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל), which involves a multidimensional undertaking in and of itself.⁸³ It includes not only geographic relocation for the covenant people (30:3; 31:17, 21, 28), but also release from bondage to “strangers” (זָרִים; 30:8) and the punishing of all oppressors (30:11, 16, 20). It seems from 30:9, the coming Davidide will participate in some way in this liberation. Correspondingly, Yahweh vouches to be present with his people (30:11; cf. also

80 See also William L. Holladay, *A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah* (2 vols.; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1986–1989), 2:164.

81 “The Exile will not end until the coming of the new David” (Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., *The Uses of the Old Testament in the New* [Chicago: Moody, 1985; repr., Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2001], 55). Yahweh’s vow to “cause to sprout/shoot up for David a righteous sprout/shoot” (וְאֶצְמִיחַ לְדָוִד צֶמַח צְדִיקָה) will prove important in the following chapter. On the role of the “Righteous Branch” in Jeremiah, see George H. Cramer, “The Messianic Hope of Jeremiah,” *BSac* 115 (1958): 241–46.

82 The absence of LXX Jer 40:14–26 (most of it relocated back to ch. 33) is striking indeed. It does not, however, gut LXX Jer 37–40 entirely of its Davidic theology, nor the ecclesial relationship. LXX Jer 37:9 places τὸν Δαυὶδ βασιλέα αὐτῶν beside Yahweh as whom the eschatological people will serve (ἐργῶνται). LXX Jer 37:21 also weakens any potential Davidic theology latent in MT Jer 30:21 (rendering the singular Ἀδὶρ as ἰσχυρότεροι αὐτοῦ) but does not eradicate it entirely (retaining the singular וְיִשְׁלֹ in καὶ ὁ ἄρχων αὐτοῦ).

83 While the phrase וְשִׁבְתִּי אֶת־שְׁבוּת עַמִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל could merely address the release of captives, its iconic use in other contexts (cf. esp. Jer 32:44; 33:7, 11; 48:47; 49:6, 39; cf. also Deut 30:3; Job 42:10; Ps 14:7; 53:6; 85:1; 126:3; Lam 2:14; Ezek 16:53; Hos 6:11; Zeph 2:7) suggests it is a term that encapsulates an entire matrix of related ideas. See BDB 986; John M. Bracke, “šûb šebût: A Reappraisal,” *ZAW* 97 (1985): 233–44.

30:22; 31:1, 33; 32:38) to quell their fears and save them (30:10–11; cf. also 30:7; 31:4–5, 7–9 [note the blind and the lame], 13–14, 16; 32:37–41; 33:16).⁸⁴ Surely the regathering of the scattered (31:10; 32:37), and rebuilding of Jerusalem (30:18; 31:38) and the temple (31:6, 12) will go a long way toward conciliating said fears. Indeed, the restoration of Jerusalem and its temple is explicitly said to be part of the “restored fortunes” (30:18; 31:23; 33:11). Moreover, in Jer 31:34 and 33:8 Yahweh promises to forgive/cleanse his people of their guilt (עֲוֹן) and remember their sins (חַטָּאת) no more. Given that the nation’s abundance of guilt for their many sins (רַב עֲוֹנֶיךָ עֲצָמוּ חַטָּאתֶיךָ) is twice said in 30:14–15 to have brought the calamity of exile in the first place (see also 32:31–35 for the leaders’ culpability), it is only logical that addressing said sins would be the *sine qua non* of “restored fortunes.”⁸⁵ Still further, physical healing (אָרְפָּאֵךְ) of infirmities is also part of this wide canvassing “restored fortunes” (30:17; compare also 31:8 and 33:6). In fact, such healing and the forgiveness (and cleansing) of sins are very closely identified with the “restored fortunes” in 33:6–8.

Furthermore, the shape of the “coming days” (discussed above) must be added to this definition of the “restored fortunes,” particularly the covenantal focus of 31:31–34 and Davidic promises of 33:14–26. Covenantal language is peppered throughout this long section (30:11, 22; 31:1; 31, 33, 35–37; 32:38–40; 33:19–22, 26). The Davidic element of the “restored fortunes” is made explicit in 33:26 where the emphasis is again on the ramifications that David’s future reenthronement will have on the people insofar as his offspring must rule over the offspring of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (מִזֶּרְעוֹ מִשְׁלִים אֶל־זֶרַע אַבְרָהָם יִשְׁחָק וְיַעֲקֹב; note the immediate causal כִּי and the promise to “restore their fortunes” in 33:26). In fact, covenantal and Davidic-ecclesial concerns are brought side by side in 33:22 where language from the Abrahamic covenant (cf. Gen 22:7; 32:12) is used to vouchsafe the future of David’s house. Not coincidentally, the sand of the sea in Gen 32:12 references the *people* who would make up the still-future innumerable covenant multitude. It is for *their* sake that the house of David will rise again.

84 This idea is absent in the LXX because there is no LXX Jer 37:10–11. Yahweh’s presence is assumed in the covenant formula “I will be their God” (LXX Jer 38:1, 33; 39:38), even though the LXX excludes LXX Jer 37:22, where the MT again has the covenant formula (30:22). Therefore, the LXX demonstrates a weakening of the covenantal aspects of the restoration as well as the associated presence of Yahweh. All the same, salvation from the oppressor abides in the LXX (37:7; 38:7).

85 The absence of MT Jer 30:15 in the LXX (there is no LXX Jer 37:15) does not detract from the emphasis on this causal relationship because LXX 37:14 bears the same sentiment.

Third, in Jer 30:3 Israel and Judah are both given the singular covenant moniker “my people” (עַמִּי), strongly suggesting that the two kingdoms will be reunited in the eschaton. This promise reemerges in 31:23, 27; 33:4, 7, 14. Jeremiah 31:31 in particular speaks to this reunification as the two houses (later in 31:33 simply called the singular house of Israel) are included in *one* new covenant.

Fourth, the return to the land in Jer 30:3 is predicated on Yahweh's past actions toward the nation's fathers. The above “fortunes” must have an historical antecedent if they are to be *restored*. Particularly in view are Yahweh's word to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (32:22; 33:22, 26), his actions in the exodus (31:32; 32:18–21), the conquest of the land (32:22–23), and his promise to David (33:17). These past promises and actions provide the basis for the future reversal of Yahweh's wrath against the nation (31:10; 31:15–16, 20; 32:42). The new covenant itself is compared with the old one (31:32–33).

In summary, Jeremiah 30–31 describes the end of the exile in several terms. It is an eschatological event marking the geographic return of a unified people participating in a new covenant, living in Jerusalem under David's rule, obeying the law and having been forgiven of past sins. It is epitomized as having their “fortunes restored,” which is itself multivalent: saved from their oppressive enemies who are destined to be judged, regathered to worship in a rebuilt temple, cleansed from sins, physically healed, (again) made participants in a new covenant, and brought under David's rule. It will comprise a reunification of the split nation. And it is premised on Yahweh's past promises and actions. Such a complex of ideas and events can be succinctly summarized as *the creation of a forgiven and reunified new-covenant-people under David's rule at the end of the exile*.

Only with this larger context in view can Jer 31:15–22 be analyzed.⁸⁶ When it is, Jer 31:15 is seen to refer to the nation's sorrows over the then-current exile which are immediately quelled by Yahweh's promise to bring the exiles back, a metonymy for all the previously described “restored fortunes.” Also, intriguing similarities to Hosea emerge.

Jeremiah 31:15–17 is a tightly wound and (it must be said) beautifully poetic text. Table 8 organizes parallel and converse cola.

86 Fortunately for this study, most of MT Jer 31:15–22 is intact in LXX Jer 38:15–22.

TABLE 8 *The structure and discourse of MT Jeremiah 31:15–17*

Jer 31:15	a.		כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה
	b.	I.	קוֹל בְּרָמָה נִשְׁמָע נָהִי
	c.		בְּכִי תִמְרוּרִים
	d.	II.	רָחֵל מִבְּכָה עַל-בָּנֶיהָ
	e.		מֵאֲנָה לְהַנְחִים עַל-בָּנֶיהָ
	f.	III.	כִּי אֵינָנּוּ
Jer 31:16	a.		כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה
	b.	I ^R .	מִנְעִי קוֹלְךָ מִבְּכִי
	c.	II ^R .	וְעֵינֶיךָ מִדְּמָעָה
	d.	III ^R .	כִּי יֵשׁ שָׂכָר לִפְעֻלָּתְךָ
	e.	A.	
	f.	B.	נֹאֲם־יְהוָה
Jer 31:17	a.	C.	וְשָׁבוּ מֵאֶרֶץ אוֹיֵב
	b.	A'.	וְיִשְׁתַּקְּנוּ לְאַחֲרֵיתֶךָ
	c.	B'.	נֹאֲם־יְהוָה
	d.	C'.	וְשָׁבוּ בָנִים לְגִבּוֹלָם
Jer 31:15	a.		Thus says Yahweh,
	b.	I.	“A voice in Ramah is heard wailing,
	c.		bitter weeping;
	d.	II.	Rachel lamenting over her sons;
	e.		She refuses comfort over her sons
	f.	III.	For they are gone.”
Jer 31:16	a.		Thus says Yahweh,
	b.	I ^R .	“Withhold your voice from weeping
	c.	II ^R .	And your eyes from tears.
	d.	III ^R .	For there are wages for your work.”
	e.	A.	The utterance of Yahweh,
	f.	B.	“And they will turn back
		C.	from the land of the enemy.
Jer 31:17	a.	A'.	And there is for you a future.”
	b.	B'.	The utterance of Yahweh,
	c.	C'.	“And the sons will turn back
			to their territory.”

Key: R=reversal; rationale conjunction; discourse climax; not in LXX

This short pericope divides into two parts, verse 15 and verses 16–17, both beginning with “Thus says Yahweh.” The second part serves to rhetorically reverse part one (hence the nomenclature I and I^R, II and II^R, III and III^R where R means “reversal”). Similar words and concepts bear out these reversals, not the least of which is the יָדָא at the beginning of III and III^R.⁸⁷ In the former, Rachel is weeping *because* her children are “not/gone” (15f). Her lament is a metaphor for the entire nation’s sorrow over the exile; part of the nation has been deported already and the final destruction of Jerusalem (Jer 34–45) is imminent.⁸⁸ In III^R, however, she is told to withhold her weeping *because* she will be rewarded (A; 16d) and have a future (A'; 17a) as her children return from the land of the enemy (C; 16f) to their own land (C'; 17c).⁸⁹ All of Jer 31:16d–17c is subsumed under the reason (marked by the rationale יָדָא in 31:16d) Rachel need not lament (31:16b–c).⁹⁰ *The result is to drive the discourse through these verses to the climax in 31:16f and 31:17c* (demonstrated above as parallel thoughts C and C').⁹¹

What begins as lament over the exiles in verse 15 is *immediately quelled* in light of the nation’s future hope, the certainty of their return. It serves almost as a foil for verses 16–17.⁹² Thus, Rachel’s weeping is a reflection on the current

87 Leslie C. Allen also astutely observes that the שׁוֹׁ in 31:16 (III^R, C) and 31:17 (III^R, C') “is a positive denial of the negative” in יָדָא in 31:15 (III) (*Jeremiah: A Commentary* [OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2008], 348 n. 251; following Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 2:188).

88 According to Jer 40:1[47:1] the exiles passed through Ramah on their way to Babylon. The Jeremiah targum makes these connections explicit by pulling Jer 40:1 into Jer 31:15—“Thus says the Lord: ‘The voice has been heard *in the height of the world, the house of Israel who weep and lament* after Jeremiah the prophet, when Nebuzaradan, the chief of the killers, sent him from Ramah, with a dirge; and those who weep for the bitterness of Jerusalem, as she weeps for her children, refusing to be comforted for her children, because they have gone into exile” (Robert Hayward, *The Targum of Jeremiah: Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* [ArBib 12; Wilmington: Glazier, 1987], 131–32; underlining added).

89 Holladay also observes the parallels in 16d–f and 17a–c (*Jeremiah*, 2:188).

90 So too Lindars, “Rachel,” 53; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 2:159. Reading the יָדָא as a temporal conjunction (so Allen, *Jeremiah*, 342) has the same effect on the structure and logic of the passage.

91 The absence of MT Jer 31:16e and 31:17a–b from LXX Jer 38:16–17 actually serves to drive the flow of thought more clearly into the climactic C and C' as they are pushed right up into the reason to stop crying (סְטִי used to translate the יָדָא of MT Jer 31:16d).

92 As Davies and Allison put it, “The thrust of 31:15 is immediately cancelled by the admonition not to weep and cry, for the lost children will return (v. 16)” (*Matthew*, 1:269). Allen argues too that the formula, “Thus says Yahweh,” in v. 15 “anticipates” vv. 16–17 in “its preparatory role” (*Jeremiah*, 344). Knowles says, “In its original context its force is immediately

exilic conditions which according to verses 16–17 will not last long. Yet, as seen in the larger context (elucidated at length above) “return from exile” involves several concomitant events. When it ends, the “restored fortunes” in the “coming days” will materialize: the creation of a forgiven and reunified new-covenant-people under David’s rule at the end of the exile.

What, then, is the significance of Ramah? In answering this question the location of Rachel’s tomb is to most scholars of grave concern. Her tomb is not, however, mentioned in the least in this context, nor does any tradition place it in Ramah.⁹³ The significance of Ramah must lie elsewhere. According to Jer 40:1[47:1] the exiles passed through Ramah on their way to Babylon.⁹⁴ Barnabas Lindars also points out that the weeping of Rachel may have been a “traditional lament” associated with any disaster befalling Israel’s little ones.⁹⁵ If that is the case, then the specific geography of Ramah is less important than the condition that Rachel’s weeping indicates.⁹⁶ There may be no way of proving this historically, but literarily the “characteristic perfect,” reflecting an ongoing static character of someone or something,” supports this timeless proverbial reading of Rachel’s weeping.⁹⁷ “Rachel has continued to weep, according to this proverb, for an unspecified length of time, but especially on those occasions when her children were once again visited by the grim hand of death, calamity, and national disruption.”⁹⁸ The cessation of her weeping comes only

denied,” and also offers several rabbinic texts and synagogue lections where Jer 31:15 is taken the same way (*Jeremiah*, 38). Knowles misses, however, the same rhetorical function the verse plays in Matt 2:15. See below. For a thorough study on the life of Jer 31:15–17 see Christine Ritter, *Rachels Klage im antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum: Eine auslegungsgeschichtliche Studie* (AGJU 52; Leiden: Brill, 2003).

93 See esp. Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 2:187; Susan E. Brown-Gutloff, “The Voice of Rachel in Jeremiah 31: A Calling to ‘Something New,’” *USQR* 45 (1991): 177–90. There really is no warrant to say, as Benjamin D. Cox and Susan Ackerman do, that Jer 31:15, “which describes the corpse of the dead Rachel singing forth a dirge, . . . presumes Rachel’s burial site to have been in Benjaminite Ramah” (“Rachel’s Tomb,” *JBL* 128 [2009]: 136). There is no mention of a corpse, a living person to the contrary!

94 See also *Targum Jeremiah* 31:15 in n. 88 above.

95 Lindars, “Rachel,” 52–53; Holladay seems to agree (*Jeremiah*, 2:169), as does Menken (*Matthew’s Bible*, 146). Given that Rachel was the mother of three northern tribes—Manasseh, Ephraim and Benjamin—her weeping may be a reaction to the 722 BCE deportation (Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 2:187; Tremper Longman III, *Jeremiah, Lamentations* [NIBCOT; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2008], 207–208; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 348) and attest to the pre-Jeremian proverbial nature of the phrase.

96 “Jeremiah focuses on the action of weeping and not on the place” (Kaiser, *Uses*, 56).

97 *Ibid.*, 54–55.

98 *Ibid.*, 55.

at the end of the exile, marked by all the concomitant “restored fortunes” of the “coming days” listed above.⁹⁹ This supports the reading that “Rachel” is a metonymy for the entire nation of Israel.¹⁰⁰ For it was at Ramah that real historic Israelites wept for the exiles, first for the north then for the south.

Jeremiah 31:18–22 then further elucidates this future restoration, premised on the past, where several lexical and thematic parallels with Hosea 11 are observed.¹⁰¹ The result is that “the prophet takes up from Hosea the theme of the love of Yahweh for his people *displayed in the wilderness*, and makes it *the basis* of a promise of restoration.”¹⁰² Hence in verse 20 Yahweh’s remembering is the impetus (על־כֵּן) for the coming mercy.¹⁰³ Thus, the reader detects that Matthew brings together OT interlocutors who already have a lot in common.¹⁰⁴

To summarize, Hosea 11 and Jeremiah 30–31 share a common vision for the future, and accomplish their rhetorical ends by comparisons to the past and present. They comment on the exodus (Hos 11:1) and the exile (Jer 31:15) in order to set up their prognostications of the future. Hosea likens the coming return from exile to a second exodus. Jeremiah attaches to this second exodus the “restored fortunes” of the forgiven and reunified new-covenant-people of Yahweh under David’s rule in the “coming days,” at the end of the exile. The verses Matthew employs, Hos 11:1 and Jer 31:15, both created expectations within their own respective narrative worlds. In fact, within their OT narrative worlds the second exodus out of exile is on the *immediate* rhetorical horizon, in both Hos 11:11 and Jer 31:16–17.

99 Similarly, *ibid.*

100 See also Hartman, “Scriptural Exegesis,” 140.

101 See details in Lindars, “Rachel,” 48, 52–57; Pfeiffer, *Heiligtum*, 199–200. *Pace* Longman (*Jeremiah*, 225), “the literary affinities of [Jer 31:18–20] with Hosea are universally recognized . . . generally accepted as certain” (Lindars, “Rachel,” 54).

102 Lindars, “Rachel,” 50–51 (emphasis added). He goes on to say that Jeremiah “renew[s] the message of Hosea as the *foundation* of new hope” (*ibid.*, 56; emphasis added).

103 Could there be in the verbs of Jer 31:18a; 31:20e–f an allusion to Exod 2:24–25 where Yahweh’s motivation to commence the exodus is his hearing, remembering, and knowing? If so, expectation is again created. As Yahweh heard, remembered, saw and knew moving him to act in the exodus, so again Yahweh hears, remembers and loves; *therefore* (על־כֵּן) he will act again.

104 The final clause of v. 22, “a female will surround/encompass a male,” is enigmatic to say the least. It may, keeping with the theme of reversals in 31:15–22, refer to Israel’s repentance as the nation, now embracing the God from whom they had turned (Longman, *Jeremiah*, 208). See also William L. Holladay for potential new creation and new covenant suggestions (“Jer. xxxi 22b Reconsidered: ‘The Woman Encompasses the Man,’” *VT* 16 [1966]: 237–39).

Matthew's Conversation with Hosea and Jeremiah

Both Hos 11:1 and Jer 31:15 are situated in contexts that bear much of the theological weight of their respective books. They are both, however, somewhat unexpected candidates for NT quotations. In fact, it is hard to see what either of them has to do with the Messiah. But such a focus has only been a distraction to Matthean scholars. Their generation commences a conversation between Hosea's, Jeremiah's and Matthew's narrative worlds that furthers the ongoing exile context and selects a frame that *creates narrative expectation* in the gospel that the restoration from exile is on the immediate horizon for Jesus' people (think 1:21).

Hosea 11:1 and Jer 31:15 both refer to the conditions right before the restoration from exile.¹⁰⁵ Their contexts reveal their rhetorical functions: preliminary set-ups to promises of restoration. In quoting them, Matthew generates the full logic of their OT contexts and creates for the reader the same expectations that the exile is about to end.¹⁰⁶ The rationale of those verses is employed and their expectations are about to come to realization.¹⁰⁷ As I have argued, Matthew presents Yahweh's people in bondage *in* the land of Israel itself. The quotation from Hosea intimates that this bondage must end because of covenant promises made to Israel at the time of its exodus. Likewise, Jeremiah also says the exile must soon end, bringing with it the "restored fortunes" in the "coming days." The employment of these redemptive-historical ideas early in the gospel creates expectation for Matthew's reader that that time of restoration is about to commence; it is a restoration for Jesus' forgiven and reunified end-of-exile new-covenant-people now ruled by the long awaited Davidide. Thus, as with the previous two quotations, an «end-of-exile» frame is selected.

In Matthew's narrative itself the expectation of salvation is created with the Moses typology. Moses left Egypt and returned to the same to rescue Yahweh's people. So too Jesus leaves the land of Israel, and then returns to rescue his people. The quotation of Hosea reinforces this expectation in the language of covenant creation, reversal and reestablishment. To Myles M. Bourke, Matthew's ability to identify Jesus with Moses and Israel is part of the text's "literary

105 Beale also astutely observes the similarity between Hos 10:14 (only *two* verses before 11:1) and the events in Matt 2:16 that the evangelist uses Jer 31:15 on which to comment ("Use," 711).

106 Chae comes to the same conclusion when he considers the formula quotations in 2:6, 2:15 and 2:18 in one sweep: "Matthew's quotations from the OT heighten the hope that the exile will end" (*Jesus*, 378; cf. also 186). See also Hays, *Reading Backwards*, 43.

107 This was Calvin's great insight (see n. 1 above).

genius.”¹⁰⁸ In both cases an expectation is created for reading Matthew. If Jesus is like Moses who left the place of captivity and returned to it, the ensuing narrative now calls for Jesus to play the role of the next part of Moses’ story: save the people from that bondage. Similarly, just as Hosea 11 projects the recreation of Yahweh’s exodus people at the end of the exile, by quoting only the *front* end thereof—Hos 11:1, the warrant for the expectation—Matthew has created anticipation for the rest of the gospel that the second exodus, the restoration from exile, is about to begin. Thus, Hos 11:1 functions in Matt 2:15 as it does in its Hosean context, as *preparation* for the *coming* restoration from exile. By generating all of Hosea 11 through the quotation Matthew creates the same narrative expectation and selects an «end-of-exile» frame.¹⁰⁹

Just as the return from exile was expected *based* on the previous exodus, so too Matthew’s “exodus” of Jesus from Jerusalem sets the expectation that the end of the exile will coincide with the “turning” of Israel. If Hosea uses the exodus as a paradigm for a restoration from exile, Matthew employs the premise for restoration—what Yahweh did in the exodus—to create expectation in the reader for restoration from exile as Hoses 11 lays out.¹¹⁰ Matthew also has an exodus (out from Jerusalem’s leaders!) whereby the reader, knowledgeable of the way Hosea uses the exodus, expects that restoration. Thus, in Matthew the land of Israel under its current leadership is “Egypt” and “Assyria” and “Babylon” all rolled into one—the places from which Yahweh’s people need to be rescued in order to attain to covenantal status. Indeed, the redemptive-historical roles of Egypt, Assyria and Babylon have been telescoped into one climactic manifestation of all three: Israel under its current religious leaders.

It is, therefore, inaccurate to say, “Whereas Moses escaped from Egypt and returned to it, Jesus (like Israel) does the opposite.”¹¹¹ Rather, Moses escaped from Egypt (Exod 2:15) and returned to it (Exod 4:19) in order to effect salvation thence. So too Jesus escapes from metaphorical Egypt (Jerusalem; Matt 2:13–14) and returns to it (Matt 2:19–21) to effect salvation thence. In both cases “Egypt” is a location of bondage which Israel’s redeemers leave and return to, thereby setting the stage for the final redemption of Israel out of the place that the nation had also once left and returned to, now awaiting salvation

108 Bourke, “Literary Genius,” 160–75.

109 While I have a few minor disagreements with Beale (see esp. nn. 37 and 63), it is his relentless focus on the Hosean context (indeed all of Hosea) that makes our readings more harmonious than not.

110 “What better language to use for Hosea’s prophecy of the second exodus and the beginning of its fulfillment in Jesus than the language already at hand describing the first exodus” (Beale, “Use,” 705). See also Hays, *Reading Backwards*, 39–41.

111 France, *Matthew*, 78.

thence.¹¹² What Israel expected (Hosea 11) on the basis of what Yahweh had done through Moses in the exodus (Exodus 2–4) is *about* to unfold through Jesus (Matthew 3–28). Thus Matt 2:13–21 is proleptic of an exile-ending second exodus for Yahweh's people (Jesus' "people" of 1:21) which begins in Matthew 3. In this way the Hosean «end-of-exile» frame is selected by the intertextual conversation.

Thus, Miler's theory that the quotation is "proleptique au récit" is correct.¹¹³ He is incorrect, however, on the extent of that forecasting. It does not prepare the reader for merely 2:19–21 as though that were the fulfillment of Hos 11:1 in the form of *Jesus' exodus* out of geographic Egypt. Rather, it prepares the reader for *all* of Matthew 3–28 as a story about *the second exodus of Jesus' people* out of the new "Egypt/Assyria/Babylon," the land of Israel under the current leadership. Of course as the new Moses, Jesus leads this second exodus but it is not merely his exodus alone. Thus the frame selected by the quotation does not exhaust itself over only six subsequent verses in the myopic application to Jesus alone, but over the rest of the narrative as expectation becomes realization for Jesus *and his people* (think 1:21 again).¹¹⁴

The intertextual conversation does not end there, however. The voice of Jer 31:15 is also heard. What begins as a lament over the exiles in Jer 31:15 is immediately pacified in 31:16–22 because they will return. Yet in the immediate larger context "return from exile" involves several concomitant events. Thus, Rachel's weeping is a reflection on the then-current exilic conditions that, in the rhetorical world of Jer 31:15–22, do not last long. When it ends, it will bring the rest of the eschatological "coming days" and "restored fortunes."¹¹⁵ Matthew's invocation of that specific verse, Jer 31:15, is stunning because it is one of the very few negative verses in the entire larger context of Jeremiah 30–33!¹¹⁶ Yet the hope of the restoration is on the immediate rhetorical horizon in Jer 31:16–17.¹¹⁷ As Davies and Allison put it,

112 Similarly, Israel had left Egypt (Hos 11:1) and returned to metaphorical Egypt in the exile (Assyria; Hos 11:5), from then on to expect salvation in the form of an exile-ending second exodus (Hos 11:11).

113 Miler, *Citations*, 51–53.

114 Additionally, this reading is detrimental to Kennedy's theory that in Matthew 2 Jesus passively recapitulates *Israel's* history (*Recapitulation*, 103–52). See the "Summary and Conclusion" below and n. 37 above.

115 As argued above, a new covenant is part of the "restored fortunes"; see Ezek 37:21–28 and Bar 2:30–35 for the same idea that exile will end with an "everlasting covenant."

116 Says Hagner, "References to messianic joy surround Jer 31:15" (*Matthew*, 1:38). See also Keener, *Matthew*, 111–12; Evans, *Matthew*, 65; Hays, *Reading Backwards*, 42–43.

117 Lindars actually says Jer 31:15–17 "form[s] the nucleus of the Book of Consolation" ("Rachel," 57).

The clue to the meaning of 2:18 may be found by looking at the context of Jer 31:15. The chapter as a whole is one of hope. It pictures in bright colours the joyous day on which the exiles will return to the land of Israel. That the chapter could be viewed as eschatological must be granted, especially in view of vv. 31–34, which foresee a new covenant and the dwelling of God with his people.¹¹⁸

The employment of Jer 31:15, then, casts Matthew's Judea in a condition of exile, for the events of Jer 31:15 are still happening.¹¹⁹ Yet, just as Jer 31:15 is part of a context where the exile is quickly overshadowed by the certainty of the return (and the concomitant "restored fortunes" in the "coming days"), so too Matthew's reader understands that Herod's vicious actions reflect an exilic state in Judea, but also that the restoration is on the near horizon. Thus, by quoting only Jer 31:15, Matthew indicates for the reader that the exile is not over, *but is about to be*. Again, in Davies and Allison's words, "The evangelist could readily have seen in Jeremiah's prophecy of Israel's return from the exile and of the new things promised for thereafter a transparent cipher or prototype for the Messiah's return to Israel and subsequent ministry."¹²⁰ Yes; the creation of narrative expectation is poetically beautiful and the ecclesiological significance of the quote is poignant. If there is any text Matthew read *in* context, *this* is it.

This means that Jer 31:15 cannot, in Matt 2:18, be applied to Jesus' exile out of the land,¹²¹ not the least of which because it is not for him that Rachel weeps,

118 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:267. Matthew "attended to the entire chapter [Jeremiah 31] with some care" (ibid., 1:268). "Matthew could well have intended for the astute Jewish listener to hear an echo of Jer 31:16 as well, as God *immediately* calls on the mothers in Israel to restrain their weeping because their work will be rewarded, and their children will one day return from exile" (Blomberg, "Matthew," 10; emphasis added). See also Charette, *Recompense*, 75.

119 "Matthew knew that in one sense Jeremiah's Exile and Rachel's weeping [were] current phenomena when Jesus was born." (Kaiser, *Uses*, 56).

120 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:267. "A number of scholars have suspected Matthew of hoping that his readers would take cognizance of the context of Jer 31:15 and recognize the implicit promise: exile is to be followed by return, sorrow is to be swallowed up by joy, for the oppression of the tyrant must be broken by God's victory" (ibid., 1:269). It is unclear, however, with this reading why they would say Jesus' departure from the land is his exile (ibid.) when on p. 267 they say Jesus' "subsequent ministry" amounts to "Israel's return from the exile." If exile is everywhere, then it is not clear where it really is.

121 Pace Stendahl, "*Quis et Unde?*," 98; Bourke, "Literary Genius," 172; France, "Formula-Quotations," 128; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:269; Knowles, *Jeremiah*, 47; Erickson, "Divine Injustice?," 19; Miler, *Citations*, 61.

but her children (τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς; note the plural) “because they are not” (ὅτι οὐκ εἰσιν). The children “are not” because they have been killed, not because one of them, Jesus, has fled the land.¹²² Instead, the fact that they “are not” while actually *in the land* means that the conditions by which they “are not” in Jer 31:15 (יִנְיָאֵם)—exile—persist *in the land*. In Jer 31:15 “they are not” because they have been deported. In Matt 2:18 “they are not” because they are dead. The intertextual conversation, then, results in the identification of the children’s death as the condition of exile. Thus, Matt 2:16–18 is not about Jesus’ own exile, but the people of Bethlehem and all its regions as the ones who need a restoration from exile in the ensuring narrative. D. A. Carson is very close when he writes:

The Exile sent Israel into captivity and thereby called forth tears. But here the tears are not for him who goes into “exile” but because of the children who stay behind and are slaughtered. Why, then, refer to the Exile at all? Help comes from observing the broader context of both Jeremiah and Matthew. . . . Matthew has already made the Exile a turning point in his thought (1:11–12), for at that time the Davidic line was dethroned. The tears of the Exile are now being “fulfilled”—i.e., the tears begun in Jeremiah’s day are climaxed and ended by the tears of the mothers of Bethlehem. The heir to David’s throne has come, the Exile is over, the true Son of God has arrived, and he will introduce the new covenant (26:28) promised by Jeremiah.¹²³

This is very close, but exile is not over yet in Matt 2:18; “the tears begun in Jeremiah’s day *are* climaxed” but *not* “ended by the tears of the mothers of Bethlehem.” Quite the contrary; the slaughter of the children demonstrates that the exile is still fully in effect. The end is not yet; it can, however, now be *expected* in the narrative to come.

Thus, Matt 2:16–18 also has a proleptic function. The reader does not have to wait, however, until 23:32, 37–39 and/or 27:25 to experience this.¹²⁴ The «end-of-exile» frame selected by 2:16–18 is more immediately applicable: the entire rest of the narrative, beginning in Matthew 3, is read as the end of exile story that Jer 31:16–17 expects.

¹²² See also Erickson, “Divine Injustice?,” 11.

¹²³ Carson, *Matthew*, 95.

¹²⁴ So Rothfuchs, *Erfüllungszitate*, 64–65; Nolan, *Royal Son*, 138–39; Knowles, *Jeremiah*, 37; Ritter, *Rachels Klage*, 123–25. My argument does not contradict this reading; see Miler for a very clear presentation of the strengths (*Citations*, 64–66). But see my critique of Knowles in n. 38.

Furthermore, the concern many scholars have for the location of Rachel's tomb¹²⁵ can rest in peace. Strecker asks, "Sollte eine Beziehung zur Grabtradition bestehen?" and rightly concludes that "für Matthäus waren nicht sämtliche Aussagen des Schriftbelegs, sondern nur die Beziehung auf die vorliegende Perikope wichtig."¹²⁶ By "vorliegende Perikope" Strecker means the Matthean context, but this same observation can also be made of the Jeremian context: Rachel's tomb is nowhere in view in either pericope.¹²⁷ Instead, what Ramah represents in redemptive-history—the place of deportation—is the important factor for Matthew as well. It matters not where Ramah is, or the location of Rachel's tomb, but that *the conditions* of Ramah persist. Thus, Matthew is not concerned with geography,¹²⁸ but the narrative's place on the covenantal and eschatological calendar and what that says about the redemptive-historical condition under which Yahweh's people languish. If the land of Israel is "Egypt" then it is also "Ramah." Both are ideological ciphers for "exile."

Just as with Hosea, the quotation of Jeremiah provides the redemptive-historical setting for the events that the narrator interjects so as to interpret Matt 2:13–21 by generating and amplifying the prophet's narrative world, thereby selecting an «end-of-exile» frame. The reader can anticipate what will happen next. The new Moses must return to the place of captivity (now the land of Israel!) to rescue Yahweh's people from the oppression there. The captivity under which the people languish, however, is compared to another traumatic event in Israel's history: the exile that persists right to Jesus' day. Therefore, the rescue that this new Moses will effect is the second exodus, this time out of exile. Matthew's reader, through this three way intertextual conversation, also expects the entire lot of Jeremiah's "restored fortunes" to appear now in the "last days" (cf. Jer 30:24). The reader indeed sees in the ensuing narrative, all the elements of Jeremiah's "restored fortunes": healings, new temple, "new" law, new covenant, new people, new David, forgiveness of sins, etc. which can be summarized as *the forgiven and reunified new-covenant-people under David's rule at the end of the exile*. In short, the intertextual conversations in Matt 2:15

125 See e.g. Cave, "Matthew's Infancy," 389; Knowles, *Jeremiah*, 45–46; n. 93 above.

126 Strecker, *Weg*, 51.

127 See also Carson, *Matthew*, 95. Menken is just wrong when he says, "Matthew has then simply confused the two [OT] traditions on Rachel's tomb" (*Matthew's Bible*, 147–48). The tomb is nowhere in view in Jeremiah 31 nor Matthew 2.

128 *Pace inter alia* Stendahl, "Quis et Unde?," 97–100; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:268. France wonders about this thesis ("Formula-Quotations," 117–19) even in adopting it (*ibid.*, 121). For how do Egypt or "the East" answer the sort of questions arising from John 7:41–42?

and 2:18 select an «end-of-exile» frame loaded with important icons for understanding Matthew's narrative going forward.

Summary and Conclusion

Matthew 2:13–21 generates Hosea 11 and Jeremiah 30–31. The narrator introduces these OT passages with formulas to pause the story and address the reader directly and interpret the events. The result is that a three-way oral-scribal intertextual conversation emerges that selects an «end-of-exile» frame for further competent reading. In short, Jeremiah furthers Matthew's redemptive-historical context as one of exile, while Hosea and Jeremiah both, *by virtue of the function of the specifically quoted verses in their OT contexts*, create narrative expectations.

The conversation between Matthew, Hosea and Jeremiah sounds as follows. Matthew 2:13–14 says Israel is “Egypt,” seen in the way the “new Moses” escapes the wily plot of the “new Pharaoh.” Matthew 2:15 then generates Hosea 11 by quoting verse 1. Hosea 11 says Yahweh's covenant people have to come out of “Egypt”—which is to say come out of exile—in a second exodus. Matthew 2:16 then furthers the Israel as “Egypt” metaphor, and Matthew 2:17–18 immediately introduces Jer 31:15 into the conversation to select a frame from the same OT subplot. Jeremiah 30–33 says this “Egypt” is really the state of exile. But like Hosea, Jeremiah also says the exile must end with the “restored fortunes” of Israel in the “coming days” when the end-of-exile people are forgiven and reunified in a new covenant with David over them. Matthew 2:19–21 closes the conversation by saying the “new Moses” who fled Egypt is now back in “Egypt,” and ready to commence with these redemptive-historical necessities: the second exodus at the end of the exile so that Yahweh's people can be ruled by David alone. Jesus is, then, this new Moses and new David at one and the same time; his role as the new Israel begins in earnest in Matthew 3.¹²⁹

129 This reading is detrimental to interpreting Matthew 2 as Jesus' passive recapitulation of Israel's history, the two main lines of argument for which lie in Jesus' exodus in 2:21 and exile in 2:18. But the reading presented here strips away both of these pieces of the argument. Instead, Matt 2:21 is Jesus' recapitulation of Moses' life right *before* the exodus, not Israel's actual exodus. And Matt 2:18 is a vivid depiction of *Yahweh's people* in exile, not Jesus in exile. In both cases, a recapitulation of Israel's history—especially the exodus event—is not far removed. Only that recapitulation is *about to begin*, in an “active recapitulation” of the exodus (see Kennedy, *Recapitulation*, 153–215)—indeed the realization of the long awaited second exodus at the end of the exile as Hosea 11 and Jeremiah 30–31 foresee.

*Return to the Place of Captivity (Matthew 16:21; 20:28; 26:28;
27:32–28:10)*

The reader, however, quickly notices that Jesus does not stay in the new “Egypt” for long. Shortly after the eschatological redeemer returns to “Egypt,” he departs again (2:22; 4:12), having not accomplished the expected salvation of the people. This leaves the reader with an unfulfilled expectation. Taking this consideration together with the Jeremian end-of-exile icon of the forgiveness of sins, Matt 16:21 arrests the reader’s attention. For the reader encounters these two icons there (return to the place of captivity and forgiveness of sins). Matthew 16:21 is the first mention of Jesus’ return trip to Jerusalem. In both 2:14 and 4:12 Jesus flees the vicinity of Jerusalem to escape danger, as—as argued above—Moses fled Egypt. Moses, however, returned to rescue Yahweh’s people. So too, it is only at Matt 16:21 that the narrative turns back to Jerusalem. With great brevity, Matt 16:21 abruptly ends the time of Jesus’ retreat and commences his unrelenting trek back to the place of danger. The reader has been expecting this since he left the Jerusalem vicinity in 4:12. Indeed, Jesus’ very words in 16:21 say that he must not only return to Jerusalem, but that the point of returning is “to suffer much” and even “to be killed.” This, then, pushes the narrative relentlessly to its ultimate climax (cf. 17:22–23; 20:17–18; 21:1, 10, 33–42; 22:15; 26:2–4, 12; 27:1) in 27:32–28:10 as “the shadow of the cross thus falls across this whole southward journey.”¹³⁰ The entire sweep of the narrative from 16:21 to 28:10 is, therefore, read as the necessary journey of the savior back to the land of oppression to deliver his people, as expected through the employment of the Hosean «end-of-exile» frame.¹³¹ But how will suffering, death and resurrection accomplish the expected deliverance? As of 16:21 the reader does not know.

The Jeremian «end-of-exile» frame plays just as prominent a role in the narrative development after 16:21. It is evoked when both a new covenant and the forgiveness of sins are mentioned in 26:28.¹³² Thus, when Jesus reaches the

¹³⁰ France, *Matthew*, 628.

¹³¹ In fact, the triumphal entry itself (Matt 21:1–11) rings of Exod 4:19–20, Moses’ return to Egypt. Davies and Allison contend that Matthew “read Zech 9.9 in light of Exod 4.19–20” and that the plural ὑποζύγια in LXX Exod 4:20 accounts for the multiple beasts in Matt 21:5 (*Matthew*, 3:121; see also Allison, *New Moses*, 248–53). But see also 2 Sam 15:30; 16:1–2 (Menken, *Matthew’s Bible*, 110–11).

¹³² To be sure καὶ νῦν is probably not original, more likely added under the influence of Luke 22:20, 1 Cor 11:25 and possibly LXX Jer 38:31 than removed for some reason, though the phrase ΚΑΙ ΝΗΣΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΣ has just enough similar letters (underlined) to understand how an early scribe could have missed the first part of it. And one does wonder why Mark 14:24 did not undergo the same emendation in early texts like Ephraemi Rescriptus (“C”), Bezae Cantabrigiensis (“D”) and “W.” Nonetheless, the idea of a “new covenant” is clearly

end of his return trip to Jerusalem, and finally comes to explain the meaning of his death, he resorts to Jeremiah's end-of-exile vision of the forgiveness of sins through a new covenant (Jer 31:31–34).¹³³ Jesus had only hinted at this interpretation of his death in 20:28.¹³⁴ Without 26:28, however, the way in which Jesus'

there. What covenant could Jesus be inaugurating if not that of Jer 31:31–34 (so too Evans, *Matthew*, 431)? Other future covenants (Jer 32:37–41; Ezek 16:59–63; 34:23–26; 37:21–28; Bar 2:30–35) seem to be a reference to the same thing.

- 133 An intertext between Matt 26:26–28 and Jer 31:31–34 is commonly observed. Additionally, several scholars also see Isa 53:12 lingering behind Matt 26:28 (Gundry, *Use*, 57–59; Douglas J. Moo, *The Old Testament in the Gospel Passion Narratives* [Sheffield: Almond, 1983], 130–32, 309; Hagner, *Matthew*, 2:773; France, *Matthew*, 994). There seems to be only a small minority that rejects the Jeremian background (see e.g. Davies and Allison, *Matthew* 3:473–475 [but cf. W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 59]; Boris Repschinski (“He Will Save His People from Their Sins: A Christology for Christian Jews,” *CBQ* 68 [2006]: 260–61 n. 53). They favor Exod. 24:1–11 instead, stating that the only common words between LXX Jer 38:31, 34 and Matt 26:28 are διαθήκη and ἀμαρτία. But the imagery works beyond simply word usage; *the concept of forgiveness of sins* is an icon of the Jeremian «end-of-exile» frame, and therefore enough to evoke that frame in 26:28. Moreover, the connections between Exod. 24:8 and Matt. 26:28 do not preclude the influence of Jeremiah as well, for—as argued above—Jeremiah is apt at using exodus motifs to break new theological ground (including perhaps the Passover lamb as well; so Gnllka, *Matthäusevangelium*, 2:401–402). Matthew can, therefore, evoke the entire redemptive-historical thread that begins in Exodus and runs through Isaiah and Jeremiah (see Clay Ham, “The Last Supper in Matthew,” *BBR* 10 [2000]: 53–69). Even Moo (*Old Testament*, 302–11, esp. 306) and Allison (*New Moses*, 257–61, esp. 257–58) who regard Exod 24:8 as primary do not do so to the exclusion of Jer 31:31–34. Gundry makes no decision on which is primary (*Use*, 57–59). For a Zech 9:11 background see Nolland, *Matthew*, 1079; Chae, *Jesus*, 190.

- 134 It can also be argued that Jer 31:7–14 (cf. esp. vv. 8, 9, 11) provides a nice theological bridge between Matt 20:28 and the next pericope where two blind men are healed along the road. In Jer 31:8–9 it is said that Yahweh will lead the “blind and lame” (MT reads נִפְסֵי וְנִרְרִי; LXX mistranslates but typically renders the former with a form of τυφλός) together with a great crowd (LXX 38:8 reads ὄχλον πολύν) along a straight road (LXX 38:9 reads ἐν ὁδῷ ὁρθῇ) to the end that Yahweh “ransomed Jacob” (LXX 38:11 reads ἐλυτρώσατο κύριος τὸν Ιακωβ). Interestingly, after announcing that his life is a “ransom” (λύτρον) for many in Matt 20:28, the evangelist goes on to narrate in 20:29–30 how “a large crowd” (ὄχλος πολὺς) follows Jesus when he heals two “blind men” (δύο τυφλοί) sitting “alongside the road” (παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν). If Jer 31:7–14 (the pericope right before 31:15 which was quoted in Matt 21:18) is the background to Matt 20:28–34, the fact that these two men are *sitting* could also be seen as a reference to Jer 31:8’s “lame.” In this reading, then, the Jeremian «end-of-exile» frame comes back in force: this healing is an end-of-exile marker. (The blind [and lame?] men may even be emblematic of the entire nation.) The same is true when the frames selected through the next two formula-quotations (Isa 11:1 in Matt 2:23 and Isa 40:3 in Matt 3:3) are

suffering, death and resurrection of 16:21 et al. might accomplish redemption is vague at best.¹³⁵ Matthew 26:28 is most crucial, therefore, for the reader's comprehension of where the entire narrative has been heading since 16:21 (indeed since 2:13–21).¹³⁶ And it is Jeremiah's end-of-exile vision that is provided to explain how Jesus' experience in Jerusalem might satisfy the reader's expectation. For, according to Jeremiah, there is no end of exile without the forgiveness of sins.¹³⁷ Jesus' death is the atoning sacrifice to that end.

Thus, Matt 16:21, 20:28, 26:26–28 and 27:32–28:10 form a string of narrational developments that the Hosean and Jeremian «end-of-exile» frames anticipate and explain. They form the spine on which the rest of the narrative is hung from 16:21 on. The redeemer is returning to the place of oppression of his people, the new “Egypt,” from whence he will rescue them, ultimately, from their sins. This is the expectation provided by Hosea's and Jeremiah's end-of-exile vision funneled through the Matt 2:13–18 narrative; it pays off hermeneutically when Jesus finally sets his face to Jerusalem (16:21 et al.) and explains why (20:28; 26:28). The return journey will culminate in one of the last end-of-exile acts: the provision of atonement for the requisite forgiveness of sins. Given that movement of Jesus back to Jerusalem to die and rise comprises the central narrative of everything after 16:20, the Hosea and Jeremiah «end-of-exile» frame looms large in understanding the entirety thereof. Luz says it well, therefore, when he writes that “as a part of the Matthean prologue this section is a prelude to essential, basic affirmations of the entire Gospel.”¹³⁸

used to read Matt 20:29–34. See also Isa 6:10; 42:16–19 for “blindness” as a spiritual condition of exile. But see Chae who perceives a Davidic Shepherd tradition at work behind 20:29–34, linking it with the following chapter, not 20:28 (*Jesus*, 318–19).

For a defense of an Isa 53:10–12 background to just Matt 20:28, see Gundry, *Use*, 39–40; Moo, *Old Testament*, 122–26; Hagner, *Matthew*, 2:582–83. For both Isa 53:10–12 and Dan 7:14, see Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:95–97; Evans, *Matthew*, 354–55. Luz is still not convinced, however, because “the central catchword *λύτρον* does not appear [in Isa 53:10–12]” (*Matthew*, 2:546 n. 41). Its verbal cognate does in LXX Jer 38:11. Nolland critiques the reading informed by Isa 43:3–4 (*Matthew*, 825).

135 So too France, *Matthew*, 632. Says Nolland, “The necessity of Jesus' coming death has been pressed since 16:21, but the why has not been very clear” (*Matthew*, 824; cf. also 826).

136 To reach even further back in the narrative, it has actually been driving to the cross and resurrection since 1:21. Cf. esp. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:210; 3:474; Novakovic, *Messiah*, 73–74; Repschinski, “He Will Save,” 257–61; Charlene McAfee Moss, *The Zechariah Tradition and the Gospel of Matthew* (BZNTW 156; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 155; Carter, *Storyteller*, 191–94; Piotrowski, “I Will Save,” 51–52.

137 This too is a very important icon of the end-of-exile frame. See my seventh chapter for more on this point.

138 Luz, *Matthew*, 1:120.

The new exodus *begins*, however, with Jesus alone in chapter 3. But first, one more pericope, with another formula-quotation no less, meets the reader and continues the drama of moving ever closer to the Matthean end of exile. And it just so happens to be the most enigmatic of all the formula-quotations: “he will be called a Nazorean.”

The Effect of the Prophets' Narrative World in Matthew 2:22–23

So far I have argued that the intertextual conversations between Matthew and the prophets Isaiah, Micah, Hosea and Jeremiah establish a redemptive-historical setting of ongoing exile and select «David» and «end-of-exile» frames. In so doing, a specific theological maxim has been reiterated several times over: the exile cannot end until David's rightful heir is enthroned and his people are gathered to him. This Davidic heir is Jesus on his way to enthronement while commencing the restoration of "his people" (cf. 1:21) from exile. Such concerns regarding exile and David are not unprecedented among Second Temple texts, even though their combination in Matthew is quite unique. Before these narrational expectations begin to find their realization in Matthew 3, however, the reader must grapple with the narrator's enigmatic commentary in 2:23, that Jesus' movement to Nazareth fulfills "that which was spoken through the prophets that he will be called a Nazorean."

For all the difficulties of the previous quotations, they were at least easy to locate in the OT. The referent to which 2:23 points, however, presents a distinctive problem: the OT nowhere says of the Messiah, nor anyone else, that Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται. There is not even a single word in the MT or LXX that neatly corresponds to the key word Ναζωραῖος. It is also unknown how a town unmentioned in all the Jewish literature to date has anything to do with fulfilling "the prophets." Finally, it is unclear to which "prophets" (plural; προφητῶν) Matthew refers. Therefore, the reader has a unique burden at this point: to discover the quotation's most likely (main) provenance. Auspiciously, Matthew gives just enough textual guidance to direct the reader on an inferential walk through the cultural encyclopedia to arrive at a plausible interpretation.¹ Thus, the reader does not have to guess to interpret this otherwise-vague statement, but "the text directs the Model Reader through the encyclopedia on a particular intended path."² The peculiarities mentioned above, therefore, are not so much problems as they are clues to discerning Matthew's meaning when they are considered in unison. The result is a conglomerate narrative invoked from multiple texts (instead of the single discourse generated by previous quotations).

1 See my methodological comments on pp. 24–27.

2 Huizenga, "Confession," 251.

In the end the reader concludes that to call Jesus the Ναζωραῖος is, according to “the prophets,” to call him *the* house of David rising from the shame of its and the nation’s exile and standing as a sign to Israel and the nations to travel along the end-of-exile highway. That Jesus came from the disreputable town of Nazareth is symbolic of the disgrace of exile whence the house of David and reformed nation reemerge in the larger redemptive-historical narrative.³ One narrational step beyond the previous quotations, this one marks the *inauguration* of the end of the exile for the new David and “his people.”

The Narrative of Matthew 2:22–23

Matthew 2:22–23 is a bridge-text. On the one hand, it is a postscript to the story of Jesus’ flight from and return to the land of Israel (2:13–21) bringing two subplots to a close: Herod dies and the angel of the Lord appears to Joseph for the last time. On the other hand, it is also the beginning of the story of Jesus’ time in Galilee.⁴ Matthew 4:12 creates an *inclusio* with 2:22; in both texts Jesus moves to Galilee in response to recent events.⁵ This pericope, therefore, serves as the transition between the infant and the adult Jesus.⁶ Additionally, it also serves as the transition between the ongoing exile—the setting of which Matthew has extensively established in chapters 1–2—and the end of the exile, described in Matthean perspective from chapter 3 on.

3 Along this line, Jerome is very intriguing when he connects Isa 11:1 to Matt 2:23 and comments that “after a long time in Babylonian captivity, no longer possessing any glory from the sprout of the old kingdom of David, Christ would rise from Mary as though from her stem” (*Comm. Isa.* 4.11.1–3, [CCSL 73:147]; trans. from Steven A. McKinion, ed., *Isaiah 1–39* [ACCSOT 10; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2004], 94).

4 While scholars have been mainly concerned with the alleged geographic apologetic of Matt 2:22–23, Luz is right that “the fulfillment quotation in v. 23 shows that Nazareth has fundamental significance for Matthew” (*Matthew*, 1:122). It is more than a pun. More than merely accounting for how the child of Bethlehem came to grow up in Nazareth, Matt 2:23 carries theological, and specifically ecclesiological, weight. Luz goes on to say that “everything that this final text of the birth story intimates with almost formulaic brevity will be developed in the Gospel” (*ibid.*, 1:124).

5 Nolland points out that “a series of terms [creates] a strong structural link between vv. 22–23 and 4:12–14: ἀκούσας . . . ὅτι . . . ἀνεχώρησεν . . . εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καὶ . . . ἐλθὼν κατέκησεν εἰς . . . πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου” (*Matthew*, 127; ellipses original).

6 Under the influence of Stendahl’s argument (“*Quis et Unde?*,” 94–105), most associate Matt 2:23 with the previous formula quotations. This study has consistently shown, however, that themes other than geography dominate the formula quotations, thereby releasing Matt 2:23 from what some consider the hermetical unit, Matthew 1–2.

As argued in the previous chapter, the land of Israel is now “Egypt/Babylon,” the place of Jewish captivity. And just as Moses returned to Egypt to lead Yahweh’s people out of that first captivity, Jesus is returning to the new “Egypt/Babylon,” also to rescue his people thence. Instead of returning to the place of centralized power where Israel’s captors have set up shop, however, Jesus gets out of danger again, this time going to Galilee. He will not return to Jerusalem until it is his time to die there. Only then will he accomplish the complete rescue of his people. This movement to Galilee, Matthew tells the reader, fulfills the prophets’ words “he will be called a Ναζωραῖος.”

Narrative Function of the Formula-Quotation in Matthew 2:23

As with the previous formula-quotations, this one in 2:23 suspends the narrative and casts a hermeneutical light over the context. In turn, it also contributes to selecting frames for further reading. There are, however, unique elements in the formula and the quotation itself to cause 2:23 to stand out from the others. Matthew introduces the quotation with ὅτι instead of λέγοντος (cf. 1:22; 2:15, 17; 3:3; 4:14),⁷ and says the OT referent is the plural “prophets” (τῶν προφητῶν) as opposed to the usual singular “prophet” (1:22; 2:5, 15, 17; 3:3; 4:14). Both of these changes are peculiar to Matt 2:23; they cause the reader to expect something unique from the “quotation” as well.⁸ For one, the absence of the word λέγοντος, and the use of ὅτι (as in 26:54), prepares the reader for something other than a direct quotation. Additionally, the reference to the plural prophets causes the reader to expect some confluence of multiple teachings.⁹ Yet the question remains: which prophets? In the scope of Matthew’s narrative world, the reader could most naturally understand these to be texts already

7 For arguments that ὅτι is part of the quotation, see Ernst Zuckschwerdt, “Nazōraïos in Matth 2:23,” *TZ* 31 (1975): 70; Maarten J. J. Menken, “The Sources of the Old Testament Quotation in Matthew 2:23,” *JBL* 120 (2001): 452–55, 461; repr. in idem, *Matthew’s Bible*. The more the reader is required to find in the OT, however, the more impossible the task becomes, especially with a word as common as ὅτι. It seems most reasonably recitative as it is in 4:6; 7:23; 9:18; 14:26; 16:7; 21:3, 16; 26:72, 74, 75; 27:43, 47; 28:13.

8 So too Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:275.

9 So too Matt 26:56. See also Gundry, *Use*, 103–104; Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:40; Miler, *Citations*, 70. Says France, “These two distinctive features together suggest strongly that what Matthew is here providing is not a quotation of a specific passage but rather a theme of prophecy” (*Matthew*, 91). This “quotation of substance” is not alone in the New Testament. Passages like John 7:38, Rom 11:8 and Jas 4:5 also paraphrase that which they attribute to the OT. See also Ezra 9:10–12 which appears to be a periphrastic application of Lev 18:24–28 and Deut 7:3–4.

called “prophets”: Isaiah (1:22–23), Micah (2:5–6), Hosea (2:15) and Jeremiah (2:17–19).¹⁰ On the other hand, “the prophets” is often a canonical entity in the rest of Matthew (5:17; 7:12; 11:13; 22:40), designating any text in the OT outside the books of Moses. And at other times they are OT characters collectively called “the prophets” (5:12; 16:14; 23:29–31, 37; 26:56). All three of these options are explored below. At any rate, the reader needs to embark on an inferential walk through the cultural encyclopedia—guided by the text of Matthew—to discern the meaning of Matthew’s formula just as much as the alleged quotation. In lieu of one OT passage, the reader is in search of a shared concept resonant through several prophetic voices. The text of Matthew will then confirm or deny any inferences. The content of the quote itself, Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται, provides the starting point.

The Provenance of the Ναζωραῖος

The reader could probably easily arrive at Matthew’s meaning in 2:23 if Ναζωραῖος were at least a somewhat common word. It is not, however. It (and its apparent synonym, Ναζαρενός) occurs nowhere in texts predating the NT. Neither Matthew nor any other gospel writers provides any explicit insight into the meaning of the word (Mark 1:24 notwithstanding) other than “a man from the town of Nazareth.”¹¹ This lack of definition suggests that its function as a denotative and connotative sign predates the gospel writers’ usage.¹² It may even have meant something different before it was associated with Nazareth.¹³ Therefore, Matthew’s employment of the word is more important than its etymological origin and development,¹⁴ not least because etymology does not determine meaning.¹⁵ The only clue Matthew gives the reader is that

10 Rothfuchs says the same thing (*Erfüllungszitate*, 66–67), though he does not include Isaiah, ironically.

11 Given that Jesus was a common name in first-century Palestine, “the Nazarene/of Nazareth” is used in the gospels and Acts to disambiguate, usually by or for the sake of those who do not already know him (cf. esp. Mark 14:66–70//Matt 27:69–73; Luke 18:36–37; John 18:4–8; 19:19; Acts 22:8). Even Acts 24:5 provides nothing more than that the plural signifies Jesus of Nazareth’s followers.

12 Zuckschwerdt, “Nazōraios,” 65.

13 BDAG 664.

14 So too Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:276, 278.

15 Several equally plausible Hebrew and/or Aramaic originals have been proposed. The reasonable movement from the town נַצְרֶת to the title Ναζωραῖος is shown by W. F. Albright (“The Names ‘Nazareth’ and ‘Nazoraean,’” *JBL* 65 [1946]: 397–401) and Hans Peter Rüger

calling Jesus a Ναζωραῖος fulfills “that which was spoken through the prophets.” Consequently, it is imperative first to discern what teaching of the prophets Matthew is invoking.

As expected with so great a mystery, innumerable solutions have been offered, some of them offering quite “ingenious” reasoning.¹⁶ Only two, however, have enough supporting evidence to warrant further investigation: LXX Judg 13:5 and MT Isa 11:1.¹⁷

LXX Judges 13:5

Some argue that Judg 13:5, 7; 16:17 is Matthew’s background; there Samson is called a “Nazirite” (MT: נָזִיר; LXX^A: ναζιραῖος; LXX^B: ναζιρ [13:5 only]).¹⁸ One sim-

(“NAZAPEΘ / NAZAPA NAZAPHNOS / NAZΩΠΑΙΟΣ,” *ZNW* 72 [1981]: 257–63). As for a number of alternative starting points and intermediary terms that can account for a secondary meaning of Ναζωραῖος see H. H. Schaefer, “Ναζαρηνός, Ναζωραῖος,” *TDNT* 4:878–79; Michael O. Wise, “Nazarene,” *DJG* 571–74; Eric Laupot, “Tacitus’ Fragment 2: The Anti-Roman Movement of the *Christiani* and the Nazoreans,” *VC* 54 (2000): 233–47.

16 The Model Reader “makes sense of the text in the most coherent and economical way possible” (Huizenga, “Confession,” 251). Therefore the simplest explanation is preferred.

17 The Fathers also preferred these two options. See Jerome, *Comm. Isa.* 4.11.1–3 (CCSL 73:147); idem, *Comm. Matt.* 1.2.23 (CCSL 77:16); Cyril of Alexandria, frag. 16; Anonymous, *Incomplete Work on Matthew*, homily 2. Eusebius favored the latter (Harold Smith, *Ante-Nicene Exegesis of the Gospels* [6 vols.; TCLit 6; London: SPCK, 1925–1929], 1:271–72).

For the minority report, see Gundry, *Use*, 98, 100–102; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:279–80; Menken, “Sources,” 456–60. While the following will adjudicate between these two readings, it is worth noting that some scholars see both options as legitimate (they are not contradictory readings after all—only that one is more expected), giving priority to one or the other (Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:278; Brown, *Birth*, 218–19, 223–25; James A. Sanders, “Ναζωραῖος in Matthew 2.23,” in *The Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel* [ed. Craig A. Evans and W. Richard Stegner; JSNTSup 104; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994; rev. and repr. from *JBL* 84 (1965): 169–72], 128; Rudolf Pesch, “‘He Will Be Called a Nazorean’: Messianic Exegesis in Matthew 1–2,” in *The Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel* [ed. Craig A. Evans and W. Richard Stegner; JSNTSup 104; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994], 175).

18 Eduard Schweizer, “‘Er wird Nazoräor heißen’ (zu Mc 1 24 Mt 2 23),” in *Judentum, Urchristentum, Kirche: Festschrift für Joachim Jeremias* (ed. Walther Eltester; BZNW 26; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1960), 90–93; Schaefer, “Ναζαρηνός, Ναζωραῖος,” 4:878–79; Zuckschwerdt, “Nazōraios,” 65–77; Soares Prabhu, *Formula*, 205–207; Klaus Berger, “Jesus als Nasoraer/Nasiraer,” *NovT* 38 (1996): 323–35; Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis*, 129–30; Miler, *Citations*, 71–74; Menken, “Sources,” 460–63; Benjamin J. M. Johnson, “A Nazorean and a Nazirite: Jesus and Samson in Matthew 1–2,” *ExpTim* 126 (2015): 1–7. See also Luz, *Matthew*, 1:123 n. 46.

ple vowel accounts for the difference between LXX^A's ναζιραῖος and Matthew's Ναζωραῖος.¹⁹ Other similarities between Judges 13 and Matthew 1–2 support this reading: the necessity of divine intervention for conception (Judg 13:2–3; Matt 1:18, 29, 23), the angel of the Lord (Judg 13:3, 9; Matt 1:20; 2:13, 19) and the child's calling to save Israel (Judg 13:5; Matt 1:21).²⁰ Moreover, instead of calling Samson a Nazirite, LXX^B Judg 13:7 calls him a “holy one of God” (ἅγιον θεοῦ; cf. LXX^B Judg 16:17), suggesting a degree of similitude between the two titles.²¹ Therefore, it could be that when Mark 1:24 uses the synonym, Ναζαρηνός, in parallel with “the holy one of God” (ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ), an allusion to the LXX^B Judg 13:7 is in view, demonstrating a connection between the title Ναζωραῖος and the Nazirite vow. Furthermore, bringing this element of holiness into the puzzle, some have seen a secondary allusion to Isa 4:3, where a form of καλέω is used to call the remnant in Zion holy (ἅγιοι κληθήσονται).²² Perhaps, it is argued, the reader is to associate the Nazirite's calling to holiness (LXX^B Judg 13:7; 16:17) together with “calling” God's people holy (Isa 4:3), thus arriving at Matthew's two words: Ναζωραῖος and κληθήσεται. Menken argues, however, that Isa 7:14 (καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Εμμανουηλ) provides the background for Matthew's use of κληθήσεται.²³ It has, after all, already been quoted in Matthew 1, and Isa 7:14–16 itself has marked similarities with Judg 13:4–7. Whatever the secondary allusion may be, by this theory the reference to “the prophets” means the former prophets.²⁴

There are several problems with this reading, however. First, if Jesus is a Nazirite he is a pretty poor one; he drinks wine (Matt 11:19; 26:29; 27:48) and touches dead bodies (Matt 9:18–19, 23–25). It is hard to imagine on a narrative or apologetic level that Matthew should present Jesus in contradiction with direct commands of Yahweh (cf. Num 6:1–4, 6). France poignantly makes this case:

19 Menken, “Sources,” 459, 461. Symmachus's ναζιραῖος in Num 6:18–19 shows that there was at least one alternative way of transliterating נָזִיר.

20 See esp. Sanders, “Ναζωραῖος,” 121–28; Johnson, “Nazorean,” 3–6.

21 Schweizer, “Nazoräor,” 91–93.

22 Brown, *Birth*, 223–25; Miler, *Citations*, 73. To Davies and Allison it is primary, however (*Matthew*, 1:277, 280).

23 Menken, “Sources,” 463–66.

24 Zuckschwerdt, “Nazōraios,” 68–71; Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis*, 129–30; Menken, “Sources,” 466–67.

The supposed echo would backfire rather badly when the reader reaches 11:18–19 where Jesus is set in deliberate contrast with the nazirite lifestyle of John the Baptist, and is labeled rather a “glutton and wine drinker.” Jesus was no nazirite, and it does not seem that anyone “called” him that.²⁵

While typology does not have to operate on every level of correspondence, the reader at least expects a degree of consistency, especially with reference to the key word inviting the comparison. In this case the characterization of Jesus in the larger Matthean narrative subverts whatever typology (Jesus as a new Samson-like Nazirite) the word Ναζωραῖος allegedly invokes. Therefore, associating Ναζωραῖος with the Nazirite vow finds no place in Matthew’s narrative world. To put it another way, this interpretation does not result in a coherent reading of Matthew as a whole, the *sine qua non* of narrational cogency.

Second, despite the similarities between Judges 13 and Matthew 1–2 mentioned above, only the angel of the Lord appears in Matt 2:23’s *immediate* context, which is nothing peculiar to Judges 13 (cf. also Genesis 16, 22; Numbers 22; Judges 2, 5, 6; 1 Chronicles 21; Psalm 35; Zechariah 1, 3). The other two alleged points of contact occur in Matthew 1, a chapter with far more Davidic concerns than anything Nazirite-related.²⁶

Third, a very tortuous path must be trod between Judg 13:5 and Isa 4:3 (or Isa 7:14) to account for Matthew’s wording.²⁷ Does the text lead the reader along such a course? It seems not since this theory’s definition of “the prophets” (the former prophets) would exclude Isaiah. All the same, if recourse is made to LXX^B Judg 13:5, 7; 16:17; Isa 4:3; 7:14 and Mark 1:24 for interpretation, this reading raises as many questions as it answers. For one, how does calling a group of people (the remnant in Zion) holy in Isa 4:3 directly bear on calling Jesus holy? Moreover, Isa 4:3 uses κληθήσονται to refer to a plural object and Isa 7:14 uses the active καλέσεις to signify a second person subject, but Matthew uses the passive κληθήσεται to designate a third person subject and singular object. The farther the reader gets away from the actual form Matthew uses, κληθήσεται, the more astronomical the options become given that occurrences of καλέω are aplenty in the LXX.²⁸ Furthermore, the homophonic association between ναζιραῖος and Ναζωραῖος that initiates the pursuit in the first place is

25 France, *Matthew*, 93. See also Gnllka, *Matthäusevangelium*, 1:56; Moss, *Zechariah Tradition*, 39.

26 If the name had anything to do with the miraculous birth the reader would more naturally expect it in ch. 1 (cf. Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:41), but the story has since moved on.

27 So too Nolland, *Matthew*, 130.

28 Menken even admits that Gen 16:11 and Judg 13:24 could just as well explain Matthew’s use of κληθήσεται (“Sources,” 465).

lost once the reader turns to Isa 4:3 or Isa 7:14.²⁹ There seem to be too many differences to rely on Isa 4:3 or Isa 7:14 as sources.

Fourth, while “the prophets” elsewhere in Matthew designates any text outside of Moses (5:17; 7:12; 11:13; 22:40) the specific texts that have already been called prophets are Isaiah (1:22), Micah (2:5), Hosea (2:15) and Jeremiah (2:17). These are the ones most recently invoked and so occupy the reader’s most recent memory. If Matthew means something narrower than the canonical entity “the prophets,” then this consideration pushes the four already quoted, not the “former prophets,” to the front of the list for the most natural referent for Matt 2:23’s προφητῶν. They comprise the part of the cultural encyclopedia most recently and explicitly covered, and therefore already a part of the Matthean narrative world.

Finally, according to Richard B. Hays a significant test point for determining a legitimate OT echo/allusion is how well it illuminates and draws the receptor’s context together.³⁰ Yet aside from a mere pun this theory offers no explanation for the significance of Nazareth in calling Jesus a Ναζωραῖος. That is, there is nothing about the town itself that evokes any element of the Nazirite vow. Matthew does not merely state that Jesus is a Ναζωραῖος, but says *living in Nazareth* fulfills the prophets’ oracle that he will be called a Ναζωραῖος. There must be some connection, therefore, between the town and the name. In this reading, however, there is not. It does not illuminate Matthew’s context, therefore. To put it in my own methodological terms, this reading provides an incoherent commentary from the narrator.

To summarize, while reading Matt 2:23 as a reference to Judg 13:5, 7; 16:17 (and possibly secondarily to Isa 4:3 and/or 7:14) is possible, upon closer examination it is unnatural. The contextual similarities between Judges 13 and Matthew 2 are not as strong as some suppose, the reading is not very economical, inside of Matthew’s narrative world the “former prophets” is not the most immediate candidate for “the prophets,” and this reading does not assign any explanatory power to the town of Nazareth. Most significantly, Jesus is not a nazirite (cf. Num 6:1–6; Matt 9:18–19, 23–25; 11:19; 26:29; 27:48). In short, the text of Matthew does not lead the reader along a path through the cultural encyclopedia to equate Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται of Matt 2:23 with ναζιραῖον ἔσται of LXX^A Judg 13:5 or ναζιρ . . . ἔσται of LXX^B Judg 13:5. Thus, Judg 13:5, 7; 16:17 remains dormant.³¹

29 Menken recognizes this fact and uses it against seeing an Isa 4:3 background, but seems to miss that it also militates against his Isa 7:14 background (“Sources,” 464).

30 Hays, *Echoes*, 31–32.

31 To use Eco’s terms, it is “narcotized” amid the cultural encyclopedia.

MT Isaiah 11:1

The second option is supported by stronger evidence, has fewer problems, and offers a more satisfying reading of Matt 2:23. In Isa 11:1 the Messiah is called a רֹאשׁ (“shoot/branch”) that will grow out of the family of David.³² In this reading Matthew employs a homophone to associate the town of Nazareth and its most famous son, Jesus the Ναζωραῖος, with Isaiah’s רֹאשׁ.³³ This reading is supported by the cultural encyclopedia, contextual similarities between Matt 2:22–3:17 and Isa 11:1–16, and the common usage of Isa 11:1. Its shortcomings are easily surmounted.

To begin, an inferential walk through the cultural encyclopedia actualizes Isa 11:1. For one, Matthew has kept the reader’s attention on Jesus’ Davidic heritage through the genealogy (11:1, 17, 20) and his place of birth (2:6 [cf. Mic 5:1–4a; Luke 2:4]).³⁴ I also argue in previous chapters that the contexts of Isa 7:14, Mic 5:1, 3 and Jer 31:15—generated through Matt 1:23, 2:6 and 2:18 respectively—are also Davidic. In the same vein, Isa 11:1 is a prophecy about the fate of David’s house at the end of the exile.³⁵ Second, Matthew’s consistent establishment of an ongoing exile setting also leads the reader to Isa 11:1, an end-of-exile prophecy. Thus, the text has already led the reader to Davidic and end-of-exile components of the encyclopedia; indeed, «David» and «end-of-exile» frames have already been selected several times over. *Inside those frames*, Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται looks like a Davidic end-of-exile promise. Third, Matthew 1–4 is specifically tied to the narrative of Isaiah 7–12 given that it is generated through two other prologue-quotations, 1:22–23 and 4:13–16.³⁶ Isaiah 11:1, therefore, is a specific part of the cultural encyclopedia already traversed. Fourth, because Isaiah 7, Micah 5, Hosea 11 and Jeremiah 31 have already participated in intertextual conversations, this reading provides an understanding of who “the prophets” are that is consistent with the story so far.

32 The case for an Isa 11:1 background is made by *inter alia* Str-B 1:92–94; Stendahl, *School*, 103–104, 198–99; Gundry, *Use*, 97–104; Rüger, “NAZAPEΘ,” 262–63; Pesch, “Nazorean,” 173–75. See also Luz, *Matthew*, 1:123 n. 50. Nolland sees a merging of Isa 11:1 and 42:6 (*Matthew*, 130). Evans says Matt 2:23 is a “summary” of Judg 13:5 and Isa 11:1, but calls the latter “the most important” (*Matthew*, 62–63).

33 Wise, “Nazarene,” 571–74. Laupot draws the connection by examining second and third century Christian texts and anti-Christian polemics (“Tacitus’ Fragment,” 238–47).

34 So too Moss, *Zechariah Tradition*, 39.

35 I make this case extensively below.

36 Hagner says, “The distinct advantage of this view is the messianic content of the Isaiah passage, which in turn should be related to the quotation of Isa 7:14 in Matt 1:23. The messianic figure of Isa 11:1 is the Emmanuel of Isa 7:14” (*Matthew*, 1:41).

Additionally, there are strong contextual links.³⁷ The reference to the Spirit in Matt 3:11, 16 is reminiscent of Isa 11:2—in both cases the Spirit comes upon the Messiah.³⁸ Also, Isa 11:16 contains the first reference to the “highway” (הַמִּסְלָה/ὁδός) on which the נֶצֶר stands as a beacon for the exiles’ homecoming (cf. 11:10–12). This is significant because the same word is used in Isa 40:3 (הַמִּסְלָה/ὁδός), a text Matthew quotes in 3:3, with the same connotation; it is the end-of-exile corridor on which both the exiles and Yahweh himself travel.³⁹ Thus, just three verses on from 2:23, Matthew explicitly invokes a major Isaianic theme that begins in Isaiah 11 involving the נֶצֶר.⁴⁰ These contextual similarities make it easy for the reader to hear Isa 11:1 in Matt 2:23.⁴¹

TABLE 9 Thematic links between Matthew 2:22–3:17 and Isaiah 10:33–11:16

Isaiah 10:33–11:16		Matthew 2:22–3:17	
10:33–34	Threat of judgment for the haughty Image of felled trees	3:9–10	Threat of judgment for the presumptuous Image of felled trees
11:1	Promise of the נֶצֶר	2:23	Calling Jesus the Ναζωραῖος
11:2	The Spirit of Yahweh rests on the נֶצֶר	3:11	The Spirit a threat
		3:16	The Spirit rests on Jesus
11:3–4	Judgment given to the נֶצֶר	3:11–12	Jesus responsible for judgment
11:4–5	Righteousness	3:15	Righteousness
11:6–9	Eschatological Peace	2:6	Generation of Micah 3–5
11:10–16	Second exodus to end exile	3:3	Generation of Isaiah 40–55

37 Again, see Hays for the contextual criterion for establishing an OT echo/allusion (*Echoes*, 29–32).

38 See also Nolland, *Matthew*, 155.

39 See my next chapter for the generation of Isaiah 40–55 in Matt 3:3.

40 This theme is developed consistently through Isa 11:16; 19:23; 35:8; 40:3; 62:10. The נֶצֶר’s role on the highway is explicated below.

41 Table 9 lists several others. See also Richard Bauckham, “The Messianic Interpretation of Isaiah 10:34 in the Dead Sea Scrolls, 2 Baruch and the Preaching of John the Baptist,” *DSD* 2 (1995): 202, 210–16.

Finally, this messianic image was also prevalent outside of Matthew's narrative world. Isaiah 11:1 was important at Qumran (4QpIsa^a; 4Q171 III, 10–13; 4Q285 5; 11Q14 1),⁴² in the Pseudepigrapha (*T. Jud* 24:4–6; *Sib. Or.* 6:8 [uses the same word for נִצָּר, ἄνθος, that LXX Isa 11:1 does], 16; 7:38; 8:254; *Pss. Sol.* 17:21–25), and to several early Christian writers (Rom 15:12; Rev 5:5; 22:16; 1 *Apol.* 32; *Dial. Try.* 86–87, 126; *Ag. Her.* 3.9.3).⁴³ Thus, the prolificacy of this messianic image across the cultural encyclopedia contributes to the reader's propensity to see the נִצָּר in Matt 2:23.⁴⁴

By this reading Matthew's reference to the plural prophets is specifically to those already referenced (Isaiah, Micah, Hosea and Jeremiah) and secondarily to any text that employs this horticultural image and its synonym, צִמְחָה, to forecast the house of David reemerging from the ashes of the exile (Jer 23:1–8; 33:14–18; Zech 3:6–10; 6:9–15; 4QFlor III, 10–13).⁴⁵

This reading, however, is not without its problems as well. First, a homophonic reference to Isa 11:1 only works on a reader that knows the MT.⁴⁶ But this objection is surmountable.⁴⁷ The Model Reader knows all the cultural encyclopedia necessary for interpretation, including prevalent languages and available source-texts. Given the other formula-quotations' strong affinities with the MT, the assumed knowledge of Hebrew behind the meaning of Jesus' name in 1:21, and the probable gematria in Matt 1:17, the MT is clearly part of the Model Reader's expected knowledge.⁴⁸

42 See esp. J. M. Allegro, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature," *JBL* 75 (1956): 177–82; Gundry, *Use*, 104; Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:41; Bauckham, "Messianic Interpretation," 202–206; Collins, *Scepter*, 57–64. 1QSb v, 20–29 is also worth considering.

43 Isaiah 11:1 is also clearly messianic in *Targum Isaiah* (Chilton, *Isaiah Targum*, 28). See also Str-B 1:95–96 for rabbinic literature (esp. *Sanhedrin* 43) that interprets OT "branch/shoot" passages to mean the Messiah will arise out of obscurity.

44 A synonym for נִצָּר, צִמְחָה, is also used as a title for the Messiah in Jer 23:5; 33:13; Zech 3:8; 6:12; 4QFlor III, 11. See also Gundry, *Use*, 104; Pesch, "Nazorean," 174–75; Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:41; Moss, *Zechariah Tradition*, 39.

45 Gnllka calls the צִמְחָה "der hebräische Äquivalentbegriff" and with the נִצָּר comprises the "Nazoräer-Namen" (*Matthäusevangelium*, 1:56). Pesch calls צִמְחָה an "equivalent expression" to נִצָּר ("Nazorean," 174–75). Moss even suggests that "the unified concept of נִצָּר and צִמְחָה, as interchangeable Messianic Branch terms [in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Zechariah], may also account for the unusual fulfillment formula" (*Zechariah Tradition*, 39). Nolland also adds Isa 4:2; 42:6; Jer 31:6–7 to the list (*Matthew*, 130 n. 190).

46 Soares Prabhu, *Formula*, 204; France, "Formula-Quotations," 131; Menken, "Sources," 460; Johnson, "Nazorean," 2–3.

47 Jerome had no problem with it (*Comm. Isa.* 4.11.1–3 [CCSL 73:147]).

48 "Matthew was not above scattering items in his Greek text whose deeper meaning could only be appreciated by those with a knowledge of Hebrew" (Davies and Allison,

Second, this theory has no answer for the source of κληθήσεται.⁴⁹ But perhaps finding an OT referent for κληθήσεται is an unnecessary burden. It is enough for the reader to remember 1:23 (καλέσουσιν) and understand that Jesus' people are the ones who call him the Ναζωραῖος as well as Immanuel. If that were the case (and there is no recourse to Isa 4:3 or Isa 7:14 therefore) then for the previous meaning to work more weight has to be put on the homophonic association between ναζιραῖος and Ναζωραῖος—an association that, as argued above, renders the whole of Matthew's text incoherent. All the same, given its well-attested place in the early church, it is not hard to imagine how the reader would hear an allusion to Isa 11:1's נָצַר.

In summary, Matt 2:23 guides the reader on an inferential walk through the cultural encyclopedia in search of what it means that Jesus Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται. This walk leads to Isa 11:1 through the homophonic association between the words Ναζωραῖος and נָצַר, the already-selected «David» and «end-of-exile» frames, the generation of the Isaiah 7–12 narrative in Matt 1:23 and 4:15–16, previous references to “the prophets,” the action of the Spirit in Matt 3:11, 16 (cf. Isa 11:2), and the reference to the “road/way” in the quotation of Isa 40:3 in 3:3 (cf. Isa 11:16). The common use of Isa 11:1 and parallel ideas across the encyclopedia increase the reader's propensity to see it in Matt 2:23 as well. The reader's requisite knowledge of Hebrew and the lack of an OT referent for κληθήσεται are no barriers to this reading. What the town of Nazareth has to do with this is explained below.

“The Prophets” Expectation of the נָצַר

If Isa 11:1 provides the starting point for considering that which was said by “the prophets,” then the larger context of Isaiah 7–12 needs to be revisited. I argued in chapter one that Isaiah 7–12 comprises a self-contained narrative world, and is therefore the larger context of the generated passage (7:1–9:6) with which Matthew enters into conversation at 1:23. There the house of

Matthew, 1:279). Miler argues that Matthew's translation of Immanuel in 1:23 is evidence that knowledge of Hebrew is not expected on the reader's part (*Citations*, 71). But the meaning of Immanuel serves more naturally as reinforcement of an important Matthean theme than linguistic clarification (cf. Frankemölle, *Jahwebund*).

The same objection can be said of *historical* audiences. But this sort of knowledge gets passed on easily in an oral community comprised of Greek and Hebrew speakers (Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:41–42; see also France “Formula-Quotations,” 132–34).

49 France, “Formula-Quotations,” 131; J. C. O'Neill, “Jesus of Nazareth,” *JTS* 50 (1999): 140.

David is threatened with removal from leadership over Jerusalem. This threat will not prevail, however, because Yahweh has made an indelible covenantal promise to be with his people (hence the *Immanuel* sign) through establishing the house of David over them. Those who resist Yahweh's Davidic plans, nonetheless, are judged while the then-current Davidide and his people are spared (temporarily) from exile. Next, Isaiah takes his then-current situation and projects into the future when David's house will rule over all of Yahweh's people at the end of the (north's) exile (8:23–9:6). Isaiah 9:7–10:19 then hones in on the north's sins (reason for their exile)⁵⁰ and Assyria's inability to escape judgment as well.⁵¹ Finally, Isa 10:20–11:16 fills out in more detail the predictions of 8:23–9:6, the future reestablishment of Yahweh's people under the rule of the eschatological Davidide at the end of the exile.⁵²

Matthew 2:23 generates this same larger narrative world of Isaiah 7–12 through the homophonic allusion to Isa 11:1's נִצֵּר. The narrower context is that of 10:20–11:16, where the future for the “remnant of Israel” is elucidated. The נִצֵּר (11:1) must *arise* out of the destruction of the preceding events (10:33–34) that have so greatly reduced even Judah to an insignificant enclave (cf. 7:20–8:8). The north has been exiled, and the south beaten down to a mere “stump.” Indeed, this horticultural metaphor is in keeping with the desolated vineyard of Isaiah 5 (cf. also 6:13; 9:18).⁵³ The following will examine the role the נִצֵּר plays in that narrative. Five points stand out. (1) Isaiah 10:20–11:16 is an eschatological vision when (2) the exiles of Israel and Judah are reassembled. (3)

50 So too Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 1:249–51.

51 Though Yahweh uses Assyria to discipline his people (10:5–6) its own intention is to destroy totally (10:7–11). Thus after Yahweh is done using the nation to correct Mount Zion/Jerusalem (10:12) he will turn to punish Assyria for its own haughtiness (10:13–19). So too Owsalt, *Isaiah*, 1:250, 261–62, 265–66; Archibald L. H. M. van Wieringen, “Jesaja 6–12: Die Vegetationsbildsprache und die prophetische Struktur,” in *The Book of Isaiah/Le livre d’Isaïe: Les oracles et leurs relectures. Unité et complexité de l’ouvrage* (ed. Jacques Vermeylen; BETL 81; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 203–204; Seitz, *Isaiah* 1–39, 96; Willem A. M. Beuken, “The Emergence of the Shoot of Jesse: An Eschatological or a Now Event?,” *CTJ* 39 (2004): 91–92.

52 See Motyer for how Isa 9:7–11:16 “now traverses for Israel (Ephraim/Jacob) the ground just covered for Judah”—Isa 7:1–9:6 (*Isaiah*, 24, 105–106). Leclerc specifically points to the composite portrait of the coming king in 9:2–6 and 11:1–5 (*Yahweh is Exalted*, 69–70). See also Oswalt for more on the structure of Isaiah 7–12 (*Isaiah*, 1:54–55, 192–96, 277).

53 Seitz, *Isaiah* 1–39, 97–98; see also Motyer, *Isaiah*, 122; Childs, *Isaiah*, 102. Van Wieringen contends that Isa 11:1 picks up the imagery of the remnant in 6:13 (“Vegetationsbildsprache,” 203–207).

This will constitute a second exodus and (4) will be led by the Davidic נָצִיר who (5) will also open up a way for including Gentiles among Yahweh's people.

First, the reader notes that the events foreseen in Isa 10:20–11:16 cumulatively comprise one redemptive-historical act “in that day” (בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא; 10:20, 27; 11:10, 11; cf. also 12:1, 4).⁵⁴ Thus, Isaiah expects the following four points to cohere as interdependent components of the eschaton.⁵⁵

Second, this eschatological day marks the end of the exile. The remnant/survivors of those whom Yahweh struck (10:20) are those who will return (10:21), those who are “brought back” (11:11), “gathered” and “collected” (11:12).⁵⁶ This “remnant,” however, is smaller than the full nation (10:22; cf. also 11:16). Thus the exile serves as a means of winnowing down the covenant people (11:4), and the end of the exile is the means by which the same are reconstituted.⁵⁷ Moreover, the end of the exile also marks the end of the division between Israel and Judah (11:12–13),⁵⁸ the very source of the initial problem in 7:1, 5–6.⁵⁹ The two will be reunited.⁶⁰

Third, this eschatological end-of-exile re-creation of Yahweh's people is—as noted elsewhere in “the prophets”—a second exodus (10:26; 11:11, 15–16). The reader also notes that the exiles travel home on a “road/way” (מַסְלָה; 11:16; LXX: δίοδος). This is the first mention of such a homeward road from exile which is

54 So too Beuken, “Emergence,” 95–97.

55 So too Moyter, *Isaiah*, 115, 125; Erich Zenger, “Die Verheissung Jesaja 11:1–10: universal oder partikular?” in *Studies in the Book of Isaiah: Festschrift Willem A. M. Beuken* (ed. J. Van Ruiten and M. Vervenne; BETL 132; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 141, 145; Childs, *Isaiah*, 93, 104. The perfect tense is used to describe what the prophet sees; what he sees predicts the future (Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 1:278 n. 9).

56 On the use of these terms together, see Geo Widengren, “Yahweh's Gathering of the Dispersed,” in *In the Shelter of Elyon: Essays on Ancient Palestinian Life and Literature in Honor of G. W. Ahlström* (ed. W. Boyd Barrick and John R. Spencer; JSOTSup 31; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 227–34, 240–45.

57 While it is clear in this context that the נָצִיר is a solitary leader, Isa 60:21 calls the eschatological end-of-exile *people*, who Yahweh plants again in the land, the נָצִיר. Thus in Isaiah there is a reciprocal relationship between the Messiah and his people.

58 So too *inter alia* Wildberger who says, “The reconciliation between Ephraim and Judah [is] an indispensable presupposition for the coming time of salvation” (*Isaiah* 1–12, 498).

59 So too Wildberger, *Isaiah* 1–12, 494–95; Seitz, *Isaiah* 1–39, 109.

60 Though this part of Isaiah only sees a full exile for the north, “the scattered ones of Judah” (Isa 11:12) also need to be regathered, for while Jerusalem was spared Assyria still “[swept] into Judah . . . up to the neck” (Isa 8:8). Isaiah 10:27 seems to refer back to this.

later developed in 19:23; (35:8;) 40:3; 62:10.⁶¹ The נֶצֶךְ stands on the highway calling the exiles home.

Fourth, the reader also observes—again, as seen elsewhere in “the prophets”—that this restoration occurs when David’s house is reestablished (11:1, 10).⁶² Indeed, the eschatological descendent of Jesse, the נֶצֶךְ of Isa 11:1, will lead this restoration endowed with the Spirit (11:2) which gives him attributes fit for kingly leadership: wisdom, judgment and care for the marginalized (11:2–4). In the end, the נֶצֶךְ brings with him eschatological peace between previously warring factions (11:6–9).⁶³

Finally, this peace includes the נֶצֶךְ gathering all nations to himself (11:10–12).⁶⁴ Thus Israel, Judah and Gentiles comprise “his people” who travel the return-from-exile-highway out of the new Egypt, Assyria (11:15–16).⁶⁵ Whereas Israel, those numbering like the sand of the sea (cf. 10:22), were made Yahweh’s people at the exodus, the eschatological end of exile will see a winnowing of “Israel” and an inclusion of Gentiles as Yahweh’s people.⁶⁶ “Then it was but one people out of all the peoples which was being redeemed and brought home to God, but now the remnant is world-wide, the summoning of the Gentiles.”⁶⁷

61 Seitz, *Isaiah* 1–39, 109; Goldingay, *Isaiah*, 86. Says Wildberger, “There is no question that the author is thinking here about 40:3” (*Isaiah* 1–12, 497).

62 On the certainty that David’s house is in view, see Wildberger, *Isaiah* 1–12, 470–71; cf. also 398–400; Motyer, *Isaiah*, 121. It is not being rejected in favor of one of Jesse’s other sons. Beuken’s contention that the reference to Jesse instead of David is a way to “downplay” the latter’s dynasty because it “did not fulfil its expectations” such that “a new and more radical beginning was essential” (“Emergence,” 95) does not suit the context (cf. 7:2, 13; esp. 9:6; see also 16:5; 55:3–5). Oswalt also observes the “downplay” but still affirms that “God’s promise to David stands” (*Isaiah*, 1:278–79).

63 The context makes it clear that the animals and the child are metaphors for the political stage. So too Wildberger, *Isaiah* 1–12, 480–81; Goldingay, *Isaiah*, 85, 88. Moreover, Zenger argues that the imagery is that of the original peace in Eden, between man and man, and man and environment (“Verheissung,” 137–47).

64 So too Graham I. Davies, “The Destiny of the Nations,” in *The Book of Isaiah/Le livre d’Isaïe: Les oracles et leurs relectures. Unité et complexité de l’ouvrage* (ed. Jacques Vermeylen; BETL 81; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 97; Motyer, *Isaiah*, 106, 125–26; Wildberger, *Isaiah* 1–12, 482.

65 Isaiah 19:23–25 makes this idea more explicit that Gentiles will also travel the highway when Israel returns home from exile. So too Seitz, *Isaiah* 1–39, 109; O. Palmer Robertson, *The Christ of the Prophets* (Phillipsburg: P&R, 2004), 436–37.

66 Says Seitz, “The royal oracle provides a unitary picture of God’s governance of Israel and the nations under the authority of the ‘shoot of Jesse’ following an end to the hostility that had been directed at the vineyard” (*Isaiah* 1–39, 107).

67 Motyer, *Isaiah*, 127.

In summary, Isa 10:20–11:16 prominently features the נָצַר within the larger eschatological end-of-exile expectations of a second exodus led by the final Davidic king who includes the Gentiles in his messianic work. The reestablishment of the covenant people, now including Gentiles, is dependent upon the rebuilding of David's house as the נָצַר springs up at the end of the exile.⁶⁸ This is the same expectation of other “prophets” where they employ the most common synonym for נָצַר, צֶמַח.⁶⁹

Jeremiah 23:1–8 and 33:14–18 employ this synonym with the same connotations. First, the צֶמַח is an eschatological figure (23:5, 7; 33:14). Second, he regathers the scattered “remnant” of Israel (23:2–3, 8). It even seems, in comparing 33:16 with 23:6, that the phrase “Judah will be saved (תִּשָּׁע) and Israel/Jerusalem will settle in security” is a condition marking the end of the exile. Third, this salvation is again compared to the exodus (23:7–8). And fourth, the צֶמַח comes from the family of David and will have the kingly responsibility (וּמְלִיךְ מְלִיךְ) of exercising wisdom, justice and righteousness (23:5; 33:15). Thus Jeremiah's צֶמַח is clearly the same figure, described with the same imagery, as Isaiah's נָצַר. Yet there is more in Jeremiah's vision. The establishment of the צֶמַח is in some way related to the permanent temple administrations of the priesthood (33:17–18).

While Zechariah is not one of “the prophets” already mentioned in Matthew, the book is a relevant part of the cultural encyclopedia. Zechariah 3:6–10 and 6:9–15 do not rehearse the identity and mission of the צֶמַח in the same way the other prophets do.⁷⁰ Instead, this “prophet” expands upon that to which Jeremiah has already hinted: the צֶמַח will rebuild the temple of Yahweh after the exile (6:12–14).⁷¹ Moreover, he will usher in the age where every Israelite will sit “under [their] vine and fig tree” (3:10).⁷²

68 So too Goldingay, *Isaiah*, 83.

69 See nn. 44 and 45 above. The only other comparable use of נָצַר is found in Dan 11:7; Greek translations thereof “are passable expressions for a royal successor” (Raija Sollamo, “Messianism and the ‘Branch of David’: Isaiah 11:1–5 and Genesis 49:8–12,” in *The Septuagint and Messianism* [ed. Michael A. Knibb; BETL 195; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006], 360).

70 It is worth noting, nonetheless, that Zechariah's description of the צֶמַח's royalty (6:13) is tantamount to placing him in the family of David.

71 The temple may also be in view in Isa 11:9's הָרַר קִדְשֵׁי (Davies, “Nations,” 97).

72 While Micah does not speak specifically of the נָצַר or the צֶמַח, his description of the coming Davidide who regathers Yahweh's people at the end of the exile and includes the Gentiles in the age of eschatological peace (Mic 4:1–5:4a; cf. esp “the vine and fig tree” of 4:4) places him also among “the prophets.”

Thus, in summary, there is a consistent expectation in “the prophets” that the eschatological Davidide, the $\text{נָצִיר}/\text{חֲמֹץ}$, will rise out of the ashes of the exile to restore Yahweh’s people and bring in the Gentiles through a second exodus. There is also a hint of his role in rebuilding the temple. These are the characteristics of the Ναζωραῖος that Matthew says Jesus will be called.

Matthew’s Conversation with “the Prophets”

In saying Jesus will be called the Ναζωραῖος Matthew generates “the prophets” to identify him as the נָצִיר , the house of David rising from the shame of its and the nation’s exile, now standing as a sign to Israel and the nations to travel along the end-of-exile highway.⁷³ Whereas the conversation between Matthew, Hosea and Jeremiah forecasted an end to the exile in the near future, the conversation between Matthew and “the prophets” says the end of the exile has dawned, for the initial sapling of restoration has sprouted. Such is the image of the Ναζωραῖος : the first materialization of restoration out of the ashes of the exile. Beyond that, Matthew contributes two components to the conversation with “the prophets”: who will call him this and the role of the town of Nazareth in Galilee.

By whom will Jesus be called (κληθήσεται) the Ναζωραῖος ? The most consistent reading says Jesus is called this by “his people” of 1:21. These are the same people who will call Jesus (καλέσουσιν) Immanuel in 1:23 (and whom he will shepherd per 2:6).⁷⁴ Thus, Ναζωραῖος is an ecclesiological designation; those

Similarly, while there is no reason for the reader to include 4QFlorilegium among “the prophets” it should still be noted as a relevant part of the cultural encyclopedia. In 111, 11 the חֲמֹץ is presented as the eschatological fulfillment of the promises made to David in 2 Samuel 7. Even more, it seems from 4QFlor 11, 18–19; VI, 1–3 that this eschaton marks the end of the exile. Sanders provides a good argument for how 2 Samuel 7 was understood messianically before the Christian era (“ Ναζωραῖος ,” 123–24); I fail to see, however, how 4QFlor 111, 10–13 (which speaks of the דָּוִד חֲמֹץ) supports his reading of a Samson or Samuel background to Matt 2:23. To the contrary, given the evangelist’s consistent concerns for the promises of 2 Samuel 7 and the end of the exile, the relationship between Isaiah 11 and 2 Samuel 7 is further evidence that the end-of-exile text Isa 11:1 is the background to Matt 2:23.

73 Similarly, Pesch says that Matt 2:23 marks “the arrival of the messiah, the salvation of God’s people from their sins through his death, and the addition of the Gentiles to the eschatologically constituted Israel, the church” (“Nazorean,” 175).

74 This is supported by the observation that both names, Ἐμμανουήλ and Ναζωραῖος , come from the same narrational unit in Isaiah, chs. 7–12. Says Brown, “Thus, with ingenious sym-

who call Jesus “the house of David rising from the shame of its and the nation’s exile and standing as a sign to Israel and the nations to travel along the end-of-exile highway” are those who belong to him, indeed the very ones coming out of exile.

What, though, does the town of Nazareth have to do with this? In addition to the opportunity “Ναζαρέτ” gives to broach the homophone “Ναζωραῖος,” Jesus’ origin thence is an illustration of the lowly origins of the נָצַר/נֶצֶחַ.⁷⁵ The reader knows that Nazareth was looked upon negatively (John 1:46; perhaps Matt 26:71–73). Thus by the time Matthew writes, Ναζωραῖος is already synonymous with “one from Nazareth” and the “derogatory sense of ‘backwoodsman’” conveying inferiority, obscurity, lowliness and contemptibility.⁷⁶

Thus, Mt builds his citation upon the נָצַר=lowliness motif as well as upon phonetic similarity. In Jesus’ growing up in Nazareth there is both an outer correspondence to Is 11:1 and related passages in the place-name, based on נָצַר, and an inner correspondence in the obscurity of such a place as the Messiah’s home-town.⁷⁷

And what is more lowly about the נָצַר but that he must arise out of exile, the national embarrassment and ongoing theological/covenantal problem *de jour*? Therefore, as the נָצַר/נֶצֶחַ arises from the ignominy and shame of the exile, so too Jesus comes from Nazareth.⁷⁸ “Fulfillment,” in this case at least, does not mean that living in Nazareth per se accomplishes “the prophets’” words, but

metry Matthew brings together Isaian themes in his first and last formula citations in the infancy narrative: ‘They will call his name Emmanuel’ (Isa 7:14), and ‘He will be called a Nazorean’ (the *nē[t]ser* of Isa 11:1)” (*Birth*, 219).

75 *Inter alia* Gundry, *Use*, 103–104; Pesch, “Nazarene,” 134–35.

76 France, “Formula-Quotations,” 130. *Pace* Longenecker, the fact that the term Ναζωραῖος means “an inhabitant of Nazareth” in no way “demolish[es]” any secondary meaning (*Biblical Exegesis*, 129). To the contrary, Gnika is correct that “die Bedeutung ‘Mann aus Nazaret’ für ‘Nazoräer’ aber reicht nicht aus” (*Matthäusevangelium*, 1:56). If the name Ναζωραῖος were merely gentilic then it could in no way “fulfill that which was spoken through the prophets” because the town is nowhere in the OT. Credit does have to be given to France’s solution, however. He claims that the very nonexistence of Nazareth in the OT demonstrates the obscurity from which the prophets say the Messiah comes (“Formula-Quotations,” 131; *Matthew*, 94–95).

77 Gundry, *Use*, 104. This lowly stump of David is also in Psalm 22; Isaiah 53; Zechariah 9, 11, 12 (*ibid.*, 103).

78 Erickson also points to the rejected king motif in the prophets’ use of נֶצֶחַ (“Divine Injustice?,” 20–21).

that living in Nazareth is but one example of the lowly estate of the Messiah just as the exile marks the low point whence the נָצַר comes. The homophone provides the opportunity to supply the example.

Additionally, Matthew points out that Nazareth is in Galilee (2:22–23), later called “Galilee of the Gentiles” (4:15). This sharpens the focus of the mission of the נָצַר to the Gentile world.⁷⁹ For it is in Galilee of the Gentiles that the end-of-exile Ναζωραῖος sprouts. Thus Jesus’ road back to Jerusalem to accomplish the second exodus (see my previous chapter) must go through “Galilee of the Gentiles.”

To call Jesus the Nazorean is to call him “the house of David rising from the shame of its and the nation’s exile and standing as a sign to Israel and the nations to travel along the end-of-exile highway.” This is the consistent concern of “the prophets” when they appeal to the messianic branch/shoot: it is always a reference to the fallen house of David, whose demise is always linked to the exile, and in turn always emphasizes the regathering of the exiles under the new Davidide’s leadership. Thus, these will be the end-of-exile people of Yahweh when the shoot sprouts up. Matthew says the shoot is Jesus. What better way for the one rising out of the ignominy of the exile, therefore, than to come out of the obscure and scoffed at town of Nazareth? Thus Matthew equates Jesus with the נָצַר of “the prophets” and makes calling Jesus the Ναζωραῖος an ecclesiological signifier of those coming out of exile. The town of Nazareth, in its obscurity and lowly reputation, is emblematic of the ignobility of Israel’s and David’s long exile—finally approaching its end.⁸⁰

Summary and Conclusion

Speaking of Isaiah 11, Hans Wildberger says, “This section provides evidence for the hope that there would be a new Israel, which must have occupied the attention of many different groups of people after the exile came to an end”⁸¹—or after the exile *would* come to an end as the first gospel writer seems to suggest. I have argued in previous chapters that Matthew has set his narrative at a time of ongoing exile and that the text has consistently selected «David» and

79 Luz says the connection between 2:23 and 4:15–16 “anticipate[s] the journey of Israel’s messiah to the Gentiles” (*Matthew*, 1:124).

80 Once again Jerome has demonstrated his intertextual aptitude and savvy redemptive-historical instincts (cf. ch. 2 as well). His reading of Isa 11:1 (n. 3 above) places more emphasis on Mary, but in terms of the relationship of Matt 2:23 to the end of the exile and the rise of David’s house he is right on the mark.

81 Wildberger, *Isaiah* 1–12, 498.

«end-of-exile» frames through Matthew 1 and 2, representing common concerns in the late Second Temple cultural encyclopedia. I have also argued that the generation of Hosea 11 and Jeremiah 30–33 in Matt 2:13–21 create an expectation that the exile is about to end in the ensuing Matthean narrative. Here in 2:23 Matthew generates another Davidic end-of-exile narrative; this time one that speaks of the very dawn of restoration.

Despite the several complicated issues surrounding Matt 2:23, the text nonetheless leads the reader on an inferential walk through the cultural encyclopedia that actualizes Isa 11:1 and its context, while leaving Judg 13:5, 7; 16:17 dormant. In turn, the reader is also led to other “prophets” that employ the same image as Isaiah’s נִצֵּר (Jer 23:1–8; 33:14–18; Mic 4:1–5:4a; Zech 3:6–10; 6:9–15; 4QFlorilegium). Thus, calling Jesus the Ναζωραῖος in Matt 2:23 is tantamount to calling him *the* house of David rising from the shame of national exile, and standing as a sign to Israel and the nations to travel along the end-of-exile highway. This is the consistent concern of “the prophets” when they appeal to the messianic shoot/branch: it is always a reference to the house of David that fell at the time of exile, and always foresees a regathering of the exiles under the new Davidide’s leadership. Most texts also include the influx of Gentiles. Thus, these will be Yahweh’s end-of-exile people when the shoot sprouts up. Matthew says this shoot is Jesus, and his end-of-exile people “call” him by this redemptive-historically loaded moniker. It is altogether appropriate that the one rising out of the disrepute of the exile hails from the obscure and ridiculed town of Nazareth. Matthew’s interpretation of the shoot/branch prophecies works through a homophone and the eschatological hopes of “the prophets.” Thus, Matthew has *again* selected «David» and «end-of-exile» frames.

The Son of David on the Road/Way (Matthew 21:8–13)

Nazareth is not mentioned often in the rest of the narrative. It appears in 4:13 (Ναζαρά) in the description of Jesus’ departure to start his preaching career. It is used by the crowds in 21:11 (Ναζαρέθ) during the excitement of Jesus’ triumphal entry into Jerusalem. And a servant girl mentions it in 26:71 (Ναζωραῖος) to describe Peter’s accent. The first and the last of these occurrences seem to portray little more than geographical orientation: where Jesus was before his public ministry (4:13) and how Jesus and Peter’s dialect makes them stand out in the big city (26:71). The reference to ὁ προφήτης Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀπὸ Ναζαρέθ (21:11), however, is peculiar because of the usefulness of the Ναζωραῖος «end-of-exile» frame for understand the surrounding context.⁸²

82 To be sure, the formula-quotation in 21:4–5 (Isa 62:11 and Zech 9:9 [read through Exod 4:19–20?]) is most determinative for understanding 21:1–11 (see also Deut 18:15;

The reader observes that four, maybe six, icons of the Ναζωραῖος «end-of-exile» frame invite the reader to interpret Matt 21:8–13 in terms of the restoration expectations evoked in 2:22–23. First, there is the significant reference to Jesus as ἀπὸ Ναζαρέθ (21:11).⁸³ Second, this scene occurs as Jesus travels ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ (21:8; 2x). Such “road/way” narratives are not as common in Matthew as they are in Mark.⁸⁴ This is one of only three times Jesus is said to travel along the “road/way” in Matthew, 20:17 and 21:8 being the others. Third, the crowds shout τῷ υἱῷ Δαυίδ. This reference to David is especially poignant because he is *not* mentioned in the quoted Ps 118:25–26; with the addition a Davidic theology stands out all the more. Fourth, Jesus’ first order of business in Jerusalem is to predict the current temple’s destruction.⁸⁵ Given that first-century Jewish religion is inconceivable without a temple, this dire speech-act is also laden with the hope of the establishment of the eschatological temple.⁸⁶ Fifth, in

2 Sam 15:30; 16:1–2; 1 Kgs 1:33, 43–45; 2 Kgs 9:13). But the Ναζωραῖος «end-of-exile» frame can pull a lot of images together.

- 83 Novakovic calls it “somewhat surprising” that among the evangelists Matthew alone has the crowd identify Jesus as ἀπὸ Ναζαρέθ—21:11 (*Messiah*, 87, 187). Baxter calls it “suggestive of 2:23” (“Mosaic Imagery,” 79).
- 84 Watts makes deft theological observations concerning the “way narratives” throughout Mark on the basis of the use of Isa 40:3 in that gospel’s first two sentences (*Isaiah’s New Exodus*). Matthew has a similar understanding but has the context of Isa 11:1 as well as that of 40:3 at his disposal.
- 85 E. P. Sanders makes a convincing case that the “cleansing” of the temple (Mark 11:15–19// Matt 21:12–13) is a portent of its destruction (*Jesus and Judaism* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985], 61–71; followed by Wright, *Victory*, 413–28). But see Craig A. Evans’s critique and defense of the view that Jesus’ complaint is with the priesthood’s immorality (“Jesus’ Action in the Temple: Cleansing or Portent of Destruction?,” *CBQ* 51 [1989]: 237–70). And see Karl Olav Sandnes’s surjoiner (“The Death of Jesus for Human Sins: The Historical Basis for a Theological Concept,” *Them* 20 [1994]: 22). In support of this reading, Zech 14:4, 21 may be behind the “cleansing”; Zech 9:9 was just used after all. See the review in Keener, *Matthew*, 495–501. Perhaps Davies and Allison are right that the two interpretations do not need to be set against each other (*Matthew*, 136–37).
- 86 See Sanders, *Jesus*, 71, 77–90; Sandnes, “Death of Jesus,” 21–23; Keener, *Matthew*, 498 n. 114. This would also be true of Jesus’ words in 21:21–22; if “this mountain” refers to the temple mount, and Jesus is again predicting its destruction, then his comments on prayer substitute his followers for the temple as the locus of Yahweh’s earthly dwelling. As Nolland comments on 21:13, “‘house of prayer’ suggests something like ‘place of authentic meeting with God’” (*Matthew*, 845). Thus πάντα ὅσα ἂν αἰτήσητε ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ is qualified by the mission of the eschatological temple. The meaning of 21:22 is then whatever one asks in prayer as it pertains to living out the mission of the eschatological temple will be granted.

21:11 the reader may also think of Galilee “of the Gentiles” as it is so called in 4:15. I will deal with that prologue-quotation in chapter eight. Suffice it for now to say that the moniker goes a long way to remind the reader that at the end of the exile Gentiles will join a restored Israel.⁸⁷ Sixth, and finally, the very use of Ps 118:25–26 (21:9)⁸⁸ makes the entire context ring with a second exodus note, for the Psalm was typically sung during Passover and at the Feast of Tabernacles.⁸⁹

Thus four, and perhaps even six, icons of the Ναζωραῖος «end-of-exile» frame bring Isaiah 11’s vision of restoration to bear on Matt 21:8–13. The takeaway for the reader is to interpret Matt 21:8–13 (indeed all the temple controversies) as part and parcel of Jesus’ mission to bring the exile to an end for his people. For in Matt 21:8–13 the בֶּרֶךְ, *the Son of David from Nazareth in Galilee* “of the Gentiles,” is ἐν τῇ ὄδῳ among a great crowd—worked up with second exodus fervor—on the eve of taking on the current temple leadership in anticipation of constructing the much anticipated eschatological temple.⁹⁰

And so a Nazareth inclusio has emerged. My reading of 2:13–21 expects Jesus to return to Jerusalem to effect salvation for “his people” (see my fifth chapter). But in 2:22–23 he retreats to *Nazareth*. Now finally in 21:1–13 the man from *Nazareth* has returned to Jerusalem to confront its leaders. Everything in between is waiting for this moment after which the narrative quickly accelerates to its conclusion. Indeed, between 2:23 and 21:11 the narrative is waiting for the Ναζωραῖος to complete his end-of-exile mission.

But we should return to the prologue. The oral-scribal intertextual conversation between Matthew, Hosea and Jeremiah forecasts an end to the exile in the near future; the conversation between Matthew and “the prophets” says

87 On a narrative critical level it does not suffice to conclude that “‘in Galilee’ is added because Nazareth is not well known in Judea” (Evans, *Matthew*, 359). The reader already knows that.

88 The people’s use of branches in 21:8 may also allude to Ps 118:27 (so too Keener, *Matthew*, 494).

89 Gundry, *Use*, 42–43; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:125–26.

90 Speaking of the “cleansing,” France provocatively says, “The same book of Zechariah on which Jesus’ donkey ride had been based also spoke of the messianic ‘Branch’ who would build the temple of the Lord (Zech 6:12–13, perhaps reflecting the earlier prophecy about David’s son in 2 Sam 7:12–14)” (*Matthew*, 784).

Davies and Allison also show how 21:1–11 anticipates the rest of the narrative (*Matthew*, 3:127–29). If the reader perceives this then all of Matthew 21–28 is read as the בֶּרֶךְ’s work now fully blossomed.

that day has dawned. The first sapling of restoration out of the ashes of the exile has sprouted. To call Jesus the Nazorean is to call him *the* house of David rising from the shame of exile and standing as a sign to Israel and the nations to travel along the end-of-exile highway. The reader therefore expects a new exodus narrative to commence in force; this is exactly what John the Baptist calls his hearers to in Matt 3:2–3. Jesus alone will respond.

The Effect of Isaiah's Narrative World in Matthew 3:1–4:11

In chapters 1–2 Matthew consistently sets his narrative at a time of ongoing exile. This is evinced by the genealogy (1:1–17), characterization in 2:1–12, and the intertextual conversations between Matthew and the formula-quotations' generated narratives from Isaiah 7–12 (1:22–23), Micah 3–5 (2:5–6), Hosea 11 (2:15), Jeremiah 30–33 (2:17–18) and “the prophets” (2:23). Additionally, these intertextual conversations have selected «David» and «end-of-exile» frames which, in turn, create an expectation for the reader that the eschatological Davidide is on the verge of drawing “his people” (1:21) out of exile to reconstitute Israel—this time including Gentiles—in the form of a second exodus. Through the first four formula-quotations this salvation has been only forecasted; the reader expects it soon. With the fifth formula-quotation, Matt 2:23, the horticultural image of the sprouting house of David out of the stump of exile marks the initial blossoming of said restoration. These narrational and intertextual moves situate Matthew in the cultural encyclopedia between texts that also hope for David's return, and other texts that long for an end to the exile.

Now in Matthew 3–4 the second exodus begins in earnest. The anticipated end of exile is marked by Jesus' baptism and wilderness testing as Yahweh's “son.” These events single Jesus out as the *lone* true Israelite, and his own exodus marks the end of the exile for this Israel of one. The formula-quotation in Matt 3:3 and the narrative it generates from Isaiah 40–55 equally identify Jesus as the manifestation of Yahweh traveling along the second-exodus road/way. As Jesus takes over John's preaching ministry (4:17) he continues to make the end-of-exile summons to Jew and Gentile. Those who respond join him in constituting Yahweh's end-of-exile people. Thus, dawn has broken on the second exodus for Yahweh's people—Jesus and those who respond to his preaching (summarized in 4:17).

The Unity of Matthew 2:22–4:12

Matthew 3:1 is often taken to mark a break in the narrative.¹ The language ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, however, links the forthcoming narrative with the immediately preceding context.² It is *in those* days that John the Baptist arrives. Thus, the language calls for continuous reading and interpretation. Moreover, the narrative of Matt 3:1–4:11 is encased by the inclusio formed by 2:22–23 and 4:12.³ Two conclusions follow. First, the formula-quotation in Matt 2:23 is literally connected to the one in 3:3, and their generated OT narratives are complementary. Second, Jesus' baptism and temptation need to be taken together and read in light of each other.⁴ They are, as it were, of one theological cloth. I explore both of these implications below.

Matthew 3:3 in Context

Matthew 3–4 is rife with eschatological and second-exodus imagery that embodies the gospel's vision of the new exodus as an identity marker of who are, and who are not, Yahweh's end-of-exile people. Through chapters 1–2, the reader has anticipated this second exodus and waited for clarification on who comprises true Israel, who are “his people” of 1:21. Chapters 3 and 4 deliver on some of these expectations. The end-of-exile second exodus commences with Jesus' baptism and wilderness testing. And for the time being Jesus alone is Israel.

With chapter 3 Matthew turns the page in redemptive-history, hence the eschatological language ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις in verse 1,⁵ reminiscent of LXX Jer 3:16–18; 27:4, 20; Joel 3:2; 4:1; Zech 8:6, 23. This gives the reader the sense that something new is happening, whereas the buildup of chapters 1–2 belonged to a previous redemptive-historical era.⁶ The use of παραγίνεται to

1 This is typically the result of reading Matthew primarily (and heavily) as a Markan redaction, which obscures the gospel's own coherent integrity as a unified piece of art and self-sufficient speech-act.

2 Gerd Häfner, “‘Jene Tage’ (Mt 3:1) und der Umfang des matthäischen ‘Prologs’: Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der Struktur des Mt-Ev,” *BZ* 37 (1993): 52–54.

3 In both texts Jesus escapes danger by moving to Galilee. See also Nolland, *Matthew*, 127, 135.

4 So too Kennedy, *Recapitulation*, 162–65, 175.

5 So too Strecker, *Weg*, 90–91; Gnllka, *Matthäusevangelium*, 1:64–65; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:287–90. The location of John in the wilderness adds to the eschatological orientation (ibid., 1:263, 291; Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:45).

6 This does not negate my contention above that the literary unit in view is 2:22–4:12. On the literary level Matt 3:1 lies within the larger inclusio created by 2:22–23 and 4:12, and connects

describe John's appearance has the same effect. Matthew uses this word only here and two other times, 2:1 and 3:13, where it also marks unique—and startling—redemptive-historical developments. Matthew 3:2, then, is a summary of John's message.⁷ And the language οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν equates the meaning of 3:2 with the content of the quotation in 3:3.⁸

The rest of Matthew 3 is organized around the "arrival" of four characters/character groups. Observing this is important for understanding the *dramatis personae* in the ongoing narrative.⁹ In verses 1–4 John the Baptist arrives (παραγίνεται; v. 1). Verses 5–6 describe what the people of Jerusalem, Judea and around the Jordan do when they were going out (ἐξεπορεύετο; v. 5) to John. Then, verses 7–12 record John's encounter with many Pharisees and Sadducees coming (ἐρχομένους; v. 7) to his baptism. Finally, Jesus arrives (παραγίνεται; v. 13)—much to the astonishment of the reader, as will be discussed below—in verses 13–17. The characterization of Jesus in this passage is crucial for considering Matthew's conversation with Isaiah.

Jesus (3:13–4:11)

To begin, Jesus' arrival in verse 13 is surprising. Verses 3 and 11 lead the reader to expect a theophany—that Yahweh himself will, in some way, appear.¹⁰ Verse 3 is a declaration to prepare the road/way of the κυρίου, which is the LXX's designation for הַיְהוָה. And verse 11 attributes to ἐρχόμενος the activities of Yahweh in the OT.¹¹ Then verse 13 says *Jesus* appears! The equation of Jesus' appearance

for the reader the significance of taking the generated OT narratives in 2:23 and 3:3 together. Theologically, however, 3:1 marks a redemptive-historical shift.

- 7 This is commonly observed. See esp. Gary Yamasaki, *John the Baptist in Life and Death: Audience-Oriented Criticism of Matthew's Narrative* (JSNTSup 167; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 82.
- 8 On the ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν see Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:389–92; France, *Matthew*, 101–104; esp. Jonathan T. Pennington, *Heaven and Earth in the Gospel of Matthew* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2009; repr. from NovTSup 126; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 253–330. Given that the term appears nowhere in the Second Temple literature (cf. *ibid.*, 253–78), Pennington is on good grounds to locate the conceptual background in Daniel 2–7 (*ibid.*, 285–93). Nevertheless, its potential to be charged with ideas from Isaiah 40 and Isaiah 9 should be explored given the way these texts are generated into contexts where the term is first introduced (Matt 3:2 and 4:17).
- 9 The characterization in Matthew 3 is consistent with, yet expands upon, that in 2:1–12 (see my third chapter).
- 10 So too Watts, *New Exodus*, 84; France, *Matthew*, 105.
- 11 Compare Matt 3:11–12 with Isa 4:2–5; 42:1; 44:3; Ezek 36:22–27; 39:27–29; Joel 3:1–2; Zech 13:9; Mal 3:1–3. Not coincidentally, these passages all occur in prophecies of the end of the exile. For this outpouring of water and spirit as an act of God, see also 1QS IV, 20–21.

with the anticipated arrival of Yahweh can hardly be missed.¹² The reader also notes that Jesus says in 4:4 that man lives by “every word that proceeds from the mouth of God (διὰ στόματος θεοῦ),” and observes Matthew’s canny storytelling in 5:2 where the Sermon on the Mount is delivered as “he opened his mouth (ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ).”¹³ In short, “for Matthew Jesus is an occurrence of God.”¹⁴

At the same time, while Jesus is the manifestation of God on earth, he is also the one and only true Israelite, indeed Israel itself in the one person. He is the last of “the remnant.” This is seen in four ways: (1) the voice from heaven in 3:17 calls Jesus Yahweh’s “son”; (2) the juxtaposition of Jesus’ baptism with his wilderness test parallels Israel’s exodus; (3) John (3:11, 14), the people of Jerusalem and Judea (3:6), and the Pharisees and Sadducees (3:7–10) are disqualified from fulfilling the ecclesiological category “Israel”; and (4) the Isaianic narrative generated by the quotation of Isa 40:3 in Matt 3:3 identifies Jesus’ baptism and wilderness test as the prophet’s end-of-exile second exodus.

First, the voice from heaven in 3:17 declares that Jesus is Yahweh’s “son.”¹⁵ Given the «David» frames already selected, the reader can easily understand

Matthew 3:11 could be read as an allusion to Isa 5:26–27 (see Gordon D. Kirchhevel, “He That Cometh in Mark 1:7 and Matt 24:30,” *BBR* 4 [1994]: 106). Even if Isaiah 5 is not the background, John H. Hughes concludes nonetheless that “it becomes possible to accept that this Coming One whom John heralded was none other than Yahweh himself” (“John the Baptist: The Forerunner of God Himself,” *NovT* 14 [1972]: 195).

- 12 Paul G. Bretscher says, “John thought of the coming one as being Yahweh himself. . . . The *skandalon* is real. Nevertheless Matthew insists that what John expected was indeed fulfilled in Jesus” (“‘Whose Sandals?’ [Matt 3 11],” *JBL* 86 [1967]: 87).
- 13 Robert H. Gundry, “Matthew,” in *Theological Interpretation of the New Testament* (ed. Kevin J. Vanhoozer; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005), 29.
- 14 David B. Capes, “Intertextual Echoes in the Matthean Baptismal Narrative,” *BBR* 9 (1999): 38.
- 15 Psalm 2:7 and Isa 42:1 are most commonly seen as the background (*inter alia* Gundry, *Use*, 29–32; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 336–39; Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:58–59 [who adds more than most to the case for Psalm 2]). See, however, M. D. Hooker who denies that Isa 42:1 is a legitimate background (*Jesus and the Servant* [London: SPCK, 1959], 72–73); Jeffrey A. Gibbs who affirms the Isa 42:1 background but denies Ps 2:7 in favor of LXX Jer 38:20 (“Israel Standing with Israel: The Baptism of Jesus in Matthew’s Gospel [Matt 3:13–17],” *CBQ* 64 [2002]: 511–26); and Huizenga who contradicts both readings in favor of Genesis 22 (*New Isaac*, 153–87). Perhaps Kynes’ approach is the best: instead of finding one or a few verses he examines the use of υἱός, ἀγαπητός and εὐδόκησα across the OT (*Christology*, 27–28). Consistently they are terms for *Israel*. See also Kennedy, *Recapitulation*, 180–84. Taking v. 16 into consideration as well, Capes contributes Isaiah 63–64 (“Intertextual,” 41–45), and Evans adds Dan 7:9–14 (*Matthew*, 78–79).

this as a pronouncement that Jesus is the “son” of 2 Sam 7:12–15; 1 Chr 17:11–14 (the heir of David’s throne and builder of Yahweh’s temple) and/or the “son” of Ps 2:7 (Yahweh’s anointed king who will rule the nations). Both fit well the end-of-exile expectations Matthew has consistently evoked heretofore. On the other hand, the quotation of Hos 11:1 in 2:15 invites the reader to interpret “son” in terms of Exod 4:22–23, as a moniker for Yahweh’s covenant people given at the time of their exodus from Egypt.¹⁶ Thus “my son” is a trope for “my covenant people.” Ultimately the reader may not have to decide, given the theological reciprocity between Yahweh’s people and his king.¹⁷ At any rate, only Jesus is given this title in 2:15 and 3:17. Whatever it means, only Jesus is Yahweh’s “son.”

That said, the immediate and literarily-linked narrative in Matt 4:1–11 decides the issue for the reader: he is Yahweh’s “son” *qua* his people on exodus.¹⁸ The narrative’s movement from 3:17 to 4:2 looks a great deal like a recapitulation of Israel’s experience: through the waters and into a wilderness testing (Exodus 14–32).¹⁹ “Like Israel of old, the Son comes out of the waters to enter the desert and suffers temptation.”²⁰ Even the order of Jesus’ tests coincides with Israel’s tests: first they are hungry (compare Exodus 16 to Matt 4:3), then

16 Together with 2:15 and 3:17, Kennedy avers that 4:3 and 4:6 create a “cumulative effect of the uses of the Son of God” to support this reading (*Recapitulation*, 180–81). To be sure, however, France is right that “the verbal links are not impressive” (*Matthew*, 123 n. 27). But the contextual links are (see below and Nolland, *Matthew*, 157, 162). Paul G. Bretscher also observes that while the OT rarely uses this moniker to speak of Israel, the few times it is used in the singular (“son” as opposed to “sons”) occur in exodus-related contexts—Exod 4:22–23; Deut 1:31; MT Hos 11:1; Wis 18:13 (“Exodus 4 22–23 and the Voice from Heaven,” *JBL* 87 [1968]: 306–10).

17 Thus Kennedy can say, “Two aspects of sonship are combined, Israel as God’s son and Israel’s king as God’s son” (*Recapitulation*, 182). Similarly, Watts concludes that, in the second gospel, “Perhaps Mark has no desire to force a choice between the two options. Might it be that Mark’s account is presenting Jesus as both Israel’s ‘royal’ son of God and Yahweh’s true son, ‘Israel’?” (*New Exodus*, 112).

18 See B. Gerhardsson, *The Testing of God’s Son (Matt 4:1–11 & Par): An Analysis of an Early Christian Midrash* (ConBNT 2/1; Lund: Gleerup, 1966); Bretscher, “Exodus 4,” 305–11; Davies, *Setting*, 34–45; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:340, 344–45, 361; Austin Farrer, *The Triple Victory: Christ’s Temptation according to St. Matthew* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cowley, 1990); Watts, *New Exodus*, 108–18; Kennedy, *Recapitulation*, 180–82.

19 Kennedy argues this point at length (*Recapitulation*, 154–215). See also *inter alia* Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:352, 359; Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:61–62; Kynes, *Christology*, 28–35; Gnllka, *Matthäusevangelium*, 1:83–84; Capes, “Intertextual,” 44–45; Gibbs, “Israel,” 520–22, 525–26.

20 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:344–45.

they put *Yahweh* “to the test” (compare Exod 17:2, 7 to Matt 4:7),²¹ and finally they worship another god (compare Exodus 32 to Matt 4:9). In the same vein, Jesus’ responses to the devil are taken from contexts in Deuteronomy where Moses explains to Israel how they *should* have responded in those very trials (Deut 6:16 and 8:3 are clearest on this point; the parts of those verses that Jesus does *not* quote explicitly mention the temptations that Jesus’ experience mirrors).²² Thus, in Matthew 3–4 Jesus looks like Israel on exodus.²³ Where the first Israel failed, this Israel succeeds.²⁴

Combining these first two points (Jesus as *Yahweh*’s “son” in 3:17 and the juxtaposition of Jesus’ baptism and testing), I conclude that Matt 3:16–4:11 characterizes Jesus as *Yahweh*’s obedient “son” (covenant people) going through the waters and tests of a new exodus. Insofar as only Jesus is characterized this way (he alone receives the moniker *Yahweh*’s “son” and he alone is tested in the wilderness after passing through the waters) he, then, is the only true “Israel within Israel.” He is not part of the remnant. He *is* the remnant. He does not identify with Israel. He *is* Israel. This, of course, makes 3:17 a major climax to the developing ecclesiological tension since 1:21. Finally, *someone* is Israel.

John, the People, and the Pharisees and Sadducees (3:1–12, 14, 17)

Third, Jesus’ exclusive claim to this ecclesiological moniker is reinforced in the characterization of John (3:11, 14), the people of Jerusalem and Judea (3:6), and the Pharisees and Sadducees (3:7–10). They are *not* Israel. They are not part of

21 Compare as well the devil’s text of choice, Ps 91:11–12, with Exod 19:4; Deut 32:11.

22 France calls these quotations “the most significant key to the understanding of the story” (*Matthew*, 127). See also Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:352, 362; Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:62; Kennedy, *Recapitulation*, 187. Even Luz concedes that Matthew “is familiar with the OT context” (*Matthew*, 1:151–52).

23 The presence of the Spirit in 3:16; 4:1 also contributes to the new exodus imagery (cf. Num 11:17, 25–29; Ps 106:33). Specifically, the descent of the Spirit at the baptism is reminiscent of Isaiah 63:11, 14, 19 (Gundry, *Use*, 28–29; Watts, *New Exodus*, 102–108). For more on 3:16 see L. E. Keck, “The Spirit and the Dove,” *NTS* 17 (1970–1971): 41–67; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:327–34; Capes, “Intertextual,” 41–49.

24 Allison argues for a Moses-typology (*New Moses*, 165–72), to which Daniel M. Gurtner thoughtfully contributes (“‘Fasting’ and ‘Forty Nights’: The Matthean Temptation Narrative [4:1–11] and Moses Typology,” in “*What Does the Scripture Say?*”: *Studies in the Function of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity; Volume 1: The Synoptic Gospels* [ed. Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias; SEJC 17/LNTS 469; London: T&T Clark, 2012], 1–11). I would contend that the Israel-typology is clearer and, therefore, primary. For when is Moses called *Yahweh*’s “son” and when is Moses “tested?”

the remnant. For one, John does not go to Jerusalem, but calls *all* Israel to come out to him, to the wilderness “where God’s transaction with his people began.”²⁵ That is, he is in the place to which Abraham’s children had to go to *become* Yahweh’s people.²⁶ He is thereby calling the nation to a new beginning.²⁷ Those who respond to his preaching, then, would constitute “the remnant,” true Israel.²⁸ This rebirth is needed because the nation lost its status as Yahweh’s covenant people (cf. Hosea 1–2); they must repent (3:2) and become Israel again.²⁹ Thus, John’s call to Israel furthers the narrative’s ecclesiological ambiguity: it is unknown to this point who will demonstrate themselves to be part of this group, “Israel.” If Israel needs a restart, who will respond to John’s call and show themselves to be the true covenant people?

While several do respond to John in 3:5–6 they need to repent (3:2); they have sins to confess (3:6). They are not obedient like Jesus (3:15; 4:1–11).³⁰ A change needs to take place in them. This is emphasized in that John is calling *Israelites* to be baptized (3:5–6), to undergo the ceremony for *proselytes*.³¹ In essence, “John [is] treating his fellow Jews as if they were spiritually Gentiles.”³² The implication is that the entire nation has lost its status as Yahweh’s

25 Ben F. Meyer, *The Aims of Jesus* (PTMS 48; Eugene, Ore., Pickwick, 1977, 2002), 116. With the image of the *tree* (3:10) Keener emphasizes that “John drives home the point that the nation as a whole stands under impending judgment” (*Matthew*, 123–24).

26 It is in the wilderness that “Israel began its existence as the people of God. . . . The hope of a new exodus then led the prophets to speak of the wilderness as a place of new beginnings (Jer 2:2–3; Hos 2:14–15; cf. Ezek 20:35–38)” (France, *Matthew*, 100). Indeed, in the later Jewish cultural encyclopedia the Jordan River itself is a place through which the exiles must pass if they are to return to Jerusalem (4 Bar. 6:24–25; 8:2–7). See also Nolland, *Matthew*, 136–37.

27 Meyer, *Aims*, 117–18.

28 Ibid., 118–19; Menninger, *Israel*, 136–38; France, *Matthew*, 108.

29 So too France, *Matthew*, 108–109.

30 On the interpretive options for Matt 3:15 see O. Eissfeldt, “Πληρώσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην in Matthäus 3 15,” *ZNW* 61 (1970): 209–15; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:321–27; Kynes, *Christology*, 26; Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:60; Luz, *Matthew*, 1:141–43.

31 France also emphasizes this (*Matthew*, 108–109), as does Keener (*Matthew*, 119–22). See also *inter alia* Joachim Jeremias, *Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962), 29–40; F. F. Bruce, *New Testament History* (New York: Doubleday, 1969), 156; Everett Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity* (3d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 547–48.

32 Keener, *Matthew*, 121.

people and has to *become* Israel again.³³ Their genealogy and nationality are insufficient.³⁴ Of those who come, however, only Jesus is declared Yahweh's "son" when baptized (like Israel was called Yahweh's "son" when they crossed the Red Sea; Exod 4:22–23). The exclusivity of this title—given *only* to Jesus in 3:17—is as much a negative statement on the rest of the characters as it is a positive statement about Jesus. Only Jesus emerges (both from the waters and the wilderness test) with the title "Israel."³⁵ Thus, those from Jerusalem, Judea and the regions around the Jordan need to *come out* of metaphorical Egypt and *become* Israel.³⁶

The same applies to John himself; out of his own mouth comes the admission that he too needs the baptism of confession and repentance (3:14; cf. vv. 6 and 8) just like everyone else.³⁷ John seems to be the only one who already knows he is not of Israel. Were John's own words not enough, the pronouncement in

33 To be sure, the origins of John's baptism are uncertain. Primary texts in this discussion include *Sib. Or.* 4:65; *T. Levi* 14:6. For a recent dialogue see Robert L. Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet: A Socio-Historical Study* (JSNTSup 62; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 122–32; Joan E. Taylor, *The Immerser: John the Baptist within Second Temple Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 64–72. Pace Derwood Smith ("Jewish Proselyte Baptism and the Baptism of John," *ResQ* 25 [1982]: 13–32) and Nolland (*Matthew*, 141), Hagner makes the point that because this baptism was *not self-administered* it looks more like proselyte baptism than ritual cleansing (*Matthew*, 1:46, 49). It is also unlikely if the origins of Christianity predated Jewish proselyte baptism that the latter would have copied the former (*inter alia* Ferguson, *Backgrounds*, 548; Keener, *Matthew*, 121). As such, the case for the necessity of baptism for non-Israelites to become Israel is strong. All the more shocking that John is preaching to Jews.

Just within Matthew's narrative world, however, the case is clearer. According to 3:9 Jews cannot count on their genealogy for covenantal identification. If not Abraham, therefore, what do they have by which they can call themselves "Israel?" John is saying that his baptism is necessary to *become* Israel.

34 John's words in 3:9 (though not 3:7) apply to the masses as much to the Pharisees and Sadducees.

35 Davies and Allison are right that when considering Matthew's attitude toward the nation as a whole this positive response in 3:5–6 should not be overlooked (*Matthew*, 1:298). They go to John. For them to join Jesus in the theological category of "the new Israel," however, they will have to continue to respond to Jesus' preaching (4:17) as they have John's (3:2). More on this below.

36 See my fifth chapter on Jerusalem and Judea as metaphorical Egypt governed by a Jewish leadership in bed with the Pharaoh-like Herod. To call Jerusalemites and Judeans to come *out* to the wilderness furthers this metaphor.

37 Yamasaki is right that John's words in 3:14 mark him in *need* of something Jesus is not in need of (*John*, 96–97).

3:17, as mentioned above, is a retrospective negative assessment of all the characters in chapter 3—even John—save Jesus the “son.”

Most of the focus in this section goes to the nation's leaders, whose characterization is the clearest. The Pharisees and the Sadducees—a hendiadys of opposition to John, and later Jesus—are upbraided in 3:7–9 for presuming upon their family tree. But alas, John says they too are not of Israel; they are not children of Abraham (3:9).³⁸ John's language in 3:9 seems to allude to Isa 51:1–2.³⁹ Israel is told to look to the rock from which they were hewn—i.e. Abraham—for reassurance of their relationship with Yahweh (the language of 51:3–4 echoes 40:1's עֲמִי נִחְמוּ נִחְמוּ). Drawing on such images, however, John declares that for forming his people Yahweh can use any rock he so pleases.⁴⁰ Therefore, merely claiming Abraham as their father is insufficient for identifying themselves as “Israel,” Yahweh's covenant people. Instead, all need to repent (3:2, 8) and become Israel again. The Pharisees and Sadducees are both staking a claim to be the true inheritors of the name “Israel,” whereas John is

38 So too Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:293, 307–309; Charette, *Recompense*, 67–69. This epithet “brood of vipers” is the first label given to the Jewish leaders by a “reliable character” which will be repeated two more times (12:34; 23:33) by the most reliable character, Jesus himself (Janice Capel Anderson, *Matthew's Narrative Web: Over, and Over, and Over Again* [JSNTSup 91; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994], 102–103). Nolland contends that this (as well as 23:33–34) anticipates the cross insofar as the LXX's “offspring of asps” is an emblem of mortal threat—Isa 11:8; 14:29; 30:6; 59:5 (*Matthew*, 143). In that Matthew passes quickly over the people and casts their leaders like this the reader recalls Matt 2:4 and the control the latter has over the former. Carter reads ἐρχομένους ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα αὐτοῦ to mean that the Pharisees and Sadducees came out to John to stop the people from being baptized—where ἐπὶ means “against” (*Margins*, 96–97; cf. also BDAG III.i.b.ε, η). This highlights again the tug-of-war the people find themselves in between their controlling leaders and the one who came to save “his people” (1:21). F. W. Beare might even be right in that calling Israel's leaders a brood of vipers is indicative of their “poisoning the people committed to their charge” (*The Gospel According to Matthew* [San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1981], 93). Gundry even suggests that Satan is a type of Jewish leader, connecting 3:9 to 4:3 (*Matthew*, 55–56). See also Kingsbury, *Story*, 19, 116–18; Evans, *Matthew*, 69–72.

39 So too Joachim Jeremias, *TDNT* 4:268–71; Charette, *Recompense*, 68; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:308; Evans, *Matthew*, 71.

40 See Charette, *Recompense*, 68–69. Oscar J. F. Seitz contends that Matt 3:9's τῶν λίθων τούτων are specifically those of Josh 4:2–9, 20–22 (cf. also 5:7), which is itself “midrashically connected with Isa 51 1–2” (“What Do These Stones Mean?,” *JBL* 79 [1960]: 251–54; quote from p. 251). While this has not been a popular theory (but see Evans, *Matthew*, 71–72), it does reinforce the exodus imagery in Matthew 3.

TABLE 10 *Isaiah 51:1–2 and Matthew 3:9 comparison*

MT Isa 51:1–2	הַבִּיטוּ אֶל-צִוְרֵי הַצֵּבֶתִם... הַבִּיטוּ אֶל-אַבְרָהָם אֲבִיכֶם...
	Look to the rock/cliff from which you were hewn ... Look to Abraham your father ...
LXX Isa 51:1–2	ἐμβλέψατε εἰς τὴν στερεάν πέτραν ἣν ἐλατομήσατε... ἐμβλέψατε εἰς Ἀβραάμ τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν...
	Look to the solid rock which you have hewn ... Look to Abraham your father ...
Matthew 3:9	μὴ δόξητε λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς· πατέρα ἔχομεν τὸν Ἀβραάμ. λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι δύναται ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων ἐγεῖραι τέκνα τῷ Ἀβραάμ.
	You should not think to say to yourselves, “[As] father we have Abraham .” For I say to you that God is able to raise up children for Abraham from these stones .

Key: **semantic agreement**; **conceptual agreement**

saying “Israel” are those that respond to his preaching.⁴¹ In other words, “visible Israel and the people of God are no longer identical,”⁴² and the Pharisees and Sadducees do not comprise the latter.⁴³ “For all their claims to represent the truest form of Judaism, [they are] spiritual Gentiles (3:6, 9).”⁴⁴

To summarize Matt 3:1–4:11, no one is a descendant of Abraham (3:9) unless they bear the fruit thereof (3:8). If they do not, they need to repent and *become*

41 The metaphor of the cut and burned trees in v. 10 is actually that used of *pagan* nations in Isa 10:33–34.

42 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 308.

43 Robert L. Webb makes the case that John’s words in 3:12 do not indicate a coming winning of Israel, but that one has *already occurred*; the Messiah has arrived to gather the wheat from the chaff (“The Activity of John the Baptist’s Expected Figure at the Threshing Floor [Matthew 3:12 = Luke 3:17],” *JSNT* 43 [1991]: 103–11). Indeed the rest of the narrative will reinforce that one’s response to Jesus (who takes over John’s preaching; compare 3:2 and 4:17) makes or breaks their identity as “Israel” (cf. 21:42–43; 24).

44 Keener, *Matthew*, 116.

“Israel.” Only Jesus can claim this title “Israel” independent of said repentance (cf. 3:14). For Jesus’ baptism is not premised upon a confession of sins (3:6). Nonetheless, the invitation is open to repent (3:2, 8) and *become* Israel by associating with the particularized remnant, Jesus. Going forward, this is done by responding to Jesus’ call (4:17) taken over from John (3:2). For the time being, though, Jesus alone responds to John’s call *and* receives the positive divine pronouncement that he is Yahweh’s “son” (true Israel) in 3:17.⁴⁵ As Yahweh’s “son” he goes through the waters and into testing in the wilderness.⁴⁶ Jesus’ call for repentance (4:17) that mirrors John’s call (3:2), therefore, will become a call to join him in comprising Israel. In the language of 1:21, 4:17 is a call to become “his people.” The rest of the narrative will reveal, however, that the Pharisees and the Sadducees are not so willing to give up their claim to this title “Israel” on their own terms, nor give up their authority over the populace.

Fourth and finally, the intertextual conversation between this Matthean context and Isaiah 40–55 contributes to and expands this reading. Matthew invites the reader to listen in on this conversation through the formula-quotation at 3:3.

The Narrative Function of the Formula-Quotation in Matthew 3:3

This formula deviates slightly from Matthew’s typical practice in that no form of *πληρώω* is used (cf. 1:22; 2:15, 17, 23; 4:14). The absence of this word, however, hardly alters the narrational effect of the formula and subsequent quotation.⁴⁷ As I argue in the introduction, the narrational effect of the formulas comes from more than the simple use of *πληρωθή*.⁴⁸ It is the entirety of any given formula that interrupts the narrative and prepares the reader for the narrator’s instructive commentary. In this instance, as in the five previous formula-quotations,

45 True, others have come to John. But the point is that only Jesus gets the name “son” that results in an immediate wilderness testing.

46 Similarly, Kennedy argues that “a primary purpose of 3:1–12 is to set the stage for Jesus’ baptism in 3:13–17” as “the narrative unfolds to focus exclusively upon Jesus” (*Recapitulation*, 166). He goes on: “The narrative narrows through these successive groups to focus on Jesus, Israel recapitulated, the Son of God” (*ibid.*, 167). Thus he concludes as I do that “[Jesus] alone is Israel” (*ibid.*, 172).

47 Stendahl argues that the absence of *ἵνα πληρωθῇ* does not matter; judging by the similarities that this formula has with the others, the “clear intention” is that of fulfillment (*School*, 47–48). Kennedy calls this an “implicit fulfillment quotation” and groups it with the others as well (*Recapitulation*, 158).

48 See also Stanton, *Gospel*, 347–48.

the intrusion of the OT into the Matthean narrative guides the reader in interpretation. In short, the suspension of the narrative makes for a more explicit and effective selection of frames than the allusions to and echoes of the OT embedded in the narrative.⁴⁹ Here, that frame arises from Isaiah 40–55 which is generated into, and amplified over, the Matthean narrative through the quotation of Isa 40:3 in Matt 3:3.

Isaiah 40:3 in Context

Listening in on the intertextual conversation between Matthew and Isaiah can be difficult because the generated Isaianic context is so expansive: Isaiah 40–55.⁵⁰ The point of this investigation is to consider what the voice in Isa 40:3 is crying out exactly. What does it mean to “prepare the road/way of Yahweh” (פָּנּוּ דֶרֶךְ יְהוָה) etc? To what end is the road/way prepared? It is the preparation with which Matthew equates John’s preaching in 3:2, subsequently taken up by Jesus in 4:17. Thus, it is an important intertextual conversation to which the reader is privy, for it theologically summarizes the entirety of Jesus’ preaching ministry (4:17).

The quoted verse, Isa 40:3, is situated in the immediate context of Isa 40:1–11.⁵¹ But investigating merely Isa 40:1–11 will not suffice, for the passage is itself a summary-prologue of all of Isaiah 40–55.⁵² Yahweh is announcing to Israel that

49 See Eco, *Role*, 21–22.

50 On the unity of Isaiah 40–55, see esp. Roy F. Melugin, *The Formation of Isaiah 40–55* (BZAW 141; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1976), 77–82; R. E. Clements, “The Unity of the Book of Isaiah,” *Int* 36 (1982): 120–23; John Goldingay, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 40–55* (2 vols.; ICC; New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 1:4–8.

51 For Isa 40:1–11 as a unit, see Kiyoshi Kinoshita Sacon, “Isaiah 40:1–11: A Rhetorical-Critical Study,” in *Rhetorical Criticism: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg* (PTMS 1; Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1974), 99–116; David Noel Freedman, “The Structure of Isaiah 40:1–11,” in *Perspectives on Language and Text: Essays and Poems in Honor of Francis I. Andersen’s Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. Edgar W. Conrad and Edward G. Newing; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1987), 167–93; Terry W. Eddinger, “An Analysis of Isaiah 40:1–11 (17),” *BBR* 9 (1999): 119–35; Øystein Lund (*Way Metaphors and Way Topics in Isaiah 40–55* [FAT 2/28; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007], 70–73, 95–100.

52 Claus Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66* (trans. David M. G. Stalker; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969), *inter alia* 32–33; Watts, *New Exodus*, 76–78; Pao, *New Exodus*, 41; Lund, *Way Metaphors*, 100–102. See also R. N. Whybray, *The Second Isaiah* (OTG; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 45. But see Goldingay who warns against overstating this point (*Isaiah 40–55*, 1:60).

their sins are forgiven and that they can return from exile to be witnesses to his exclusive divinity even though they had failed at that task before. This is seen at several points in this summary-prologue, and subsequently reinforced and expanded throughout Isaiah 40–55. (1) The rationale for the comfort in 40:1 is that the penalty for Israel's sins has been paid (כִּי נִרְצָה עֲוֹנָהּ; 40:2).⁵³ Since that which sent the people into exile has been remedied, (2) Yahweh can regather the exiles (40:11) and bring them back to Jerusalem (40:2, 9–11). This will be accomplished as (3) Yahweh himself travels upon the road/highway (מְסֻלָּה; דֶּרֶךְ)⁵⁴ journeying back to Jerusalem (40:3, 10). (4) The permanency of his word is the effectual means by which he regathers the scattered ones of Israel as he travels along the road/way (40:6–8). In the process, (5) it is not only Israel, but all peoples who will see Yahweh's glory (וְרָאוּ כָּל-בָּשָׂר) in this end-of-exile regathering and return to Jerusalem (40:5). This breaks open the boundaries of who "my people" (עַמִּי) in 40:1 and "his flock" (עֶדְרֹו) in 40:11 are. The cumulative effect is to predict a second exodus that will, like the first exodus, become the foundational story in forming the identity of Yahweh's people, this time at the end of the exile.

First, the sins of Israel must be atoned for (40:1–2; 43:25; 44:22; 53:4–6, 8, 10–12; 55:7). It was because of Israel's sins that they were driven into exile in the first place (42:25; 43:24; 50:1). They cannot return, therefore, if Yahweh does not first forgive his people. In short, there is no return from exile without atonement. This is observed in the initial announcement of comfort (40:1; נִחַמוּ עַמִּי נִחַמוּ): Yahweh's people are consoled in 40:2 *because* (note the triple occurrence of כִּי) "her sin is paid for" (נִרְצָה עֲוֹנָהּ).⁵⁵ This close association between the return from exile and the forgiveness of sins is also seen in Isa 49:8–13 and 52:13–53:12. So when Isaiah speaks of Yahweh having *already* comforted his people in 49:13 (יְהוָה יְנַחֵם עֲמֹו) it is because *their exile is over* (49:8–12). Thus to speak of the forgiveness of sins is to speak of the return from exile, and vice versa. They are two sides of the same theological coin. The importance of forgiveness in Isaiah's return-from-exile vision is also highlighted in the way this section climaxes with the vicarious substitution of the servant on behalf of the sins of Israel (52:13–53:12; immediately preceded by second exodus imagery in 52:1–12). For it is only after chapter 53 that the exuberant song of chapters 54–55 can commence. Thus the dramatic tension is high through chapters 40–55. While the section begins by linking the end of the exile with the forgiveness of sins (40:1–2), the reader must wait a long time—indeed to

53 The specific means of this expiation is not elucidated until 52:13–53:12; see below.

54 This theme originates in Isa 11 and is developed through Isa 35.

55 See Freedman, "Structure," 175–77.

the end of the literary unit—to find out how “[Israel] has received from the hand of Yahweh double for all her sins”: atonement will be made on her behalf (52:13–53:12).

The specific sin in question is idolatry and, thus, failure to witness to Yahweh’s exclusive divinity (48:1–5).⁵⁶ Yahweh has called the nations to judgment (41:1), and has given them the opportunity to bear witness to their gods’ saving activities and ability to control history (41:21–23; 43:9; 45:20–21), but they cannot (40:18–20, 25; 41:24, 28–29; 44:9–20; 45:16–17; 46:2, 7; 47:13–15).⁵⁷ Israel is supposed to see and hear the truth about Yahweh (40:9, 12–31) and witness to the nations what they know and understand about Yahweh (43:8–12; 44:8). But they do not see or hear; they are blind and deaf (42:18–20, 25). Thus, Israel not only looks like the nations but also makes Yahweh look like the nations’ gods! Therefore Yahweh is scattering them *among the nations* (42:25); he is sending them into exile, leaving himself without a witness. If it is their idolatry driving them into exile, to return is to be forgiven and to become true witnesses (42:1–4; 43:10–12; 44:21).

Second, because Israel has been absolved, Yahweh can regather them (40:11) from their exile (Isaiah 43, esp. vv. 5–8; 48:20–21; 49:8–12, 22; 52:11; 54:7; 55:12).⁵⁸ In so doing, he calls Israel back to the stand (traveling back to Jerusalem in the form of a second exodus; 43:14–21) to witness correctly (42:1–4; 43:10–12; 44:21) whereas they had failed before (42:18–43:13; esp. 43:5–8; 44:1–8). To be a proper and successful witness, however, Yahweh must not only regather them from exile but also give them eyes to see and ears to hear and minds to understand (42:7; 48:6)—indeed the lack of which is the very mark of exile. Thus, in coming out of exile they will again “see” and “hear” (40:5; 42:6–7; 43:8; 50:5; 52:14–15).⁵⁹ Yahweh feels compelled to do this so that he is not permanently left without a witness in an idolatrous world (48:9–11; 49:14–16; 54:7–10).

Third, Yahweh will regather said exiles as he himself travels back to Jerusalem along the road/way (יָרֵךְ; 40:3; cf. 52:8).⁶⁰ Though it is Yahweh who travels along this road in 40:3, subsequent references to the יָרֵךְ place Yahweh’s *people* on it

56 See e.g. Blaženka Scheuer, *The Return of YHWH: The Tension between Deliverance and Repentance in Isaiah 40–55* (BZAW 377; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008).

57 See Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 15–17. The inability of the nations to know, hear or understand in 40:21 and 44:9, 18–20 touches on this same idea (cf. also 45:20); they cannot testify to their gods because there is nothing to know, hear or understand about them.

58 Westermann contends that the ubiquitous declarations of “salvation” through Isaiah 40–55 are all references to the end of the exile (*Isaiah 40–66*, 11–13, 35).

59 See Michael Daling, “Idolatry and Reversal: Isaiah 6:9–10 and Matthew’s Use of an Isaianic Theme” (PhD diss., Wheaton College, 2012), 92–99, 322–23.

60 So too Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:293.

(42:16; 43:16; 48:17[?]; 49:9, 11).⁶¹ Yahweh's return journey to Jerusalem, therefore, is the catalyst by which his people can return too. That is, his people can only return to Jerusalem because Yahweh does first. In fact, it is Yahweh who makes the road/way for others to travel on (42:16; 43:16; 49:11). David W. Pao summarizes this well when he writes:

"The Way" is prepared for both Yahweh and his people. In 40:3, "the Way" is prepared for the coming of Yahweh. In passages such as 42:16, 43:16–19, and 49:11–12, however, "the Way" is prepared by Yahweh for his people. "The Way" therefore functions to point to the coming of Yahweh for his people as well as the return of the people from captivity.⁶²

Thus, Yahweh travels back to Jerusalem not solely for his own sake, but to re-create his people as he shepherds them out of exile (40:11). Moreover, it is significant that it is the blind and the ignorant (Israel as a faithless witness) whom Yahweh collects on the road/way (42:16).

The imagery Isaiah employs to describe this journey is rich. He compares it to the nation's formative journey: the exodus from Egypt (41:18–20; 43:2, 14–21; 48:20–21; 51:9–11; 52:12) when Israel first became Yahweh's people.⁶³ The

61 *Targum Isaiah* 40:2–3, in fact, reads that "the way that is prepared in the wilderness in v. 3 is no longer in anticipation of Yahweh coming to his people but is for the people themselves as they return to Jerusalem" (Klyne R. Snodgrass, "Streams of Tradition Emerging from Isaiah 40:1–5 and Their Adaptation in the New Testament," *JSNT* 8 [1980]: 27–28).

62 Pao, *New Exodus*, 53.

63 This is commonly observed. See esp. Walther Zimmerli, "Der 'neue Exodus' in der Verkündigung der beiden großen Exilspropheten," in *Gottes Offenbarung: Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Alten Testament* (TB 19; München: Kaiser, 1963), 197–204; Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Scope and Depth of Exodus Tradition in Deutero-Isaiah 40–55," in *The Dynamism of Biblical Tradition* (eds. Pierre Benoit and Roland E. Murphy; Concilium 20; New York: Paulist, 1966), 41–49; Carroll Stuhlmueller, *Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah* (AnBib 43; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970), 66–94; Bernhard W. Anderson, "Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg* (eds. Bernhard W. Anderson and Walter Harrelson; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), 175–95; idem, "Exodus and Covenant in Second Isaiah and Prophetic Tradition," in *Magnalia Dei, the Mighty Acts of God: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright* (eds. Frank Moore Cross et al; New York: Doubleday, 1976), 339–60; Dale A. Patrick, "Epiphanic Imagery in Second Isaiah's Portrayal of a New Exodus," *HAR* 8 (1984): 125–41; Erich Zenger, "The God of Exodus in the Message of the Prophets as Seen in Isaiah," in *Exodus: A Lasting Paradigm* (eds. Bas van Iersel and Anton Weiler; Concilium; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1987), 22–33; Watts, *New Exodus*, 79–84; Patricia Tuli Willey, *Remember the Former Things* (SBLDS 161; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 28–33; George Wesley

road/way (40:3; 42:16; 43:16–21; 49:9–11) along which Yahweh travels to lead his people out of captivity alludes to Exod 13:21–22; 23:20; Deut 8:2.⁶⁴ The *waters/sea* along which Yahweh leads his people (41:18; 43:2, 16, 19–20; 44:3–4; cf. also 44:24–28; 49:10) are reminiscent of Exod 14:21–15:27; Num 20:2–13; Pss 77:16–21; 78:12–16; 105:37–41; 106:7–9; 114:3–6 (cf. esp. Isa 48:21; 51:10, 15). The journey through the transformed *desert* (40:3; 43:19; 49:9–10) alludes to Exod 17:2–7; Num 20:8; Deut 8:2, 14–16; 29:4; 32:10–11; Pss 78:15–16, 19, 52–53; 106:9. The *revelation of Yahweh's glory* (40:5) echoes the same recurring theme of Exod 6:7; 7:5, 17; 8:18; 10:2; 14:4, 18; 16:12; 29:46; 31:13 *inter alia*. Moreover, in both Exodus and Isaiah 40–55 this glory is intended to demonstrate Yahweh's exclusive divinity and unmask all pretender-gods (cf. esp. Exod 8:6; 9:14; 14:4; 18:11; Deut 4:35–39; Isa 40:5; 42:6–12; 48:9–12; 52:10). The sum of these images paints the picture of a new exodus—a new inaugural and defining event for Yahweh's future people.⁶⁵

Fourth, as Yahweh travels, he *calls out* to the exiles to journey with him back to Jerusalem (40:6–8). This is the means by which he successfully regathers his people (45:23; 55:10–11).⁶⁶ This too is something of which the idols of the nations are incapable (43:11–13; 44:17; 45:20; 46:1–2, 7).

Fifth, it is not only the descendants of Abraham who hear the word going out. Rather, “all flesh” see and hear (40:5),⁶⁷ and in turn all the nations are invited to travel with Yahweh and join his new community by turning from their idols

Buchanan, “Isaianic Midrash and the Exodus,” in *The Function of Scripture in Early Jewish and Christian Tradition* (ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders; JSNTSup 154/SEJC 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 101–109; Pao, *New Exodus*, 51–59.

64 Watts, *New Exodus*, 80–81; Pao, *New Exodus*, 52–53; Goldingay, *Isaiah 40–55*, 174. Lund over states his case when he denies that “the way” in Isaiah 40–55 refers to a second exodus, in favor of a (more?) metaphorical reading (*Way Metaphors, inter alia* 73–102). Isaiah's common use of double—in this case, triple—entendre (see Eddinger, “Analysis,” 119–35; Goldingay, *Isaiah 40–55*, 174–75) precludes eliminating any imagery, especially such a common one. Gregory J. Polan astutely brings Lund's reading into symphony with the second exodus interpretation when he asks, “Could not ‘the way’ in 40:3 express both the literal meaning of an exodus journey back from Babylon to Judah and also a figurative pathway of righteous living according to the law of God, the violation of which first brought the people into exile?” (review of Øystein Lund, *Way Metaphors and Way Topics in Isaiah 40–55*, CBQ 71 [2009]: 379).

65 Says Pao, “The various themes presented in Isa 40:1–11 are thus tied together by the appropriation of the Exodus paradigm. In the reorganization and restoration of the people of God, the founding moment of Israel's history is evoked” (*New Exodus*, 55).

66 See esp. Pao, *New Exodus*, 48–50.

67 Freedman calls Isa 40:5 “the centerpiece and culmination of the poem [Isa 40:1–11] as a whole” (“Structure,” 169–71).

in response to the word gone forth (42:1–7, 10, 12; 45:22–23; 49:1, 6).⁶⁸ In the courtroom setting this is a declaration that all will see the evidence of Yahweh's exclusive divinity (41:20; cf. 41:25–27; 52:10). Yet it is more: it is an invitation to join the only true God on his return journey to Jerusalem. For, more than just observing the evidence, the nations are also invited to be “saved” (וְהוֹשַׁעַי) by Yahweh in turning to him (45:22–23; 49:6 [יְשׁוּעָה])—something their gods also cannot do (45:16–17, 20–21)—and so become *part* of the evidence.⁶⁹

In conclusion, therefore, this creates ambiguity as to who are/will be Yahweh's people *until* all these events take place. The false witnesses are absorbed into the nations and Yahweh's end-of-exile true witnesses await their unveiling. Those seen with Yahweh on the second-exodus road/way are they.⁷⁰ No wonder so many groups tried to use Isa 40:3 to establish their own identity as Yahweh's true people.⁷¹ For it is only those who respond to Yahweh's word when he comes that can claim the title of Yahweh's new exodus people (43:18–21). Until then—that is until he comes and they respond—“Israel” is a vacant category waiting to be filled. “Israel” needs a second exodus in order to be reformed into Yahweh's people.

68 Many scholars include Isa 44:5 in this list (see survey in D. W. van Winkle, “Proselytes in Isaiah XL–LV?: A Study of Isaiah XLIV 1–5,” *VT* 47 [1997]: 341–59).

69 To be sure, there are also dire threats against the nations in Isa 40–55 (43:4, 14; 45:14; 46:1; 47:1–15; 48:14; 49:23, 26; 51:7–8, 21–23; 52:1; 54:17; see e.g. Whybray, *Second Isaiah*, 62–65). D. W. van Winkle argues that this apparent discrepancy over the fate of the nations is best understood in terms of their submission to Israel, and to Yahweh (“The Relationship of the Nations to Yahweh and to Israel in Isaiah XL–LV,” *VT* 35 [1985]: 446–58). Those who submit to Israel are saved. Indeed, the newly submissive Israel—responsive to Yahweh's call—becomes the agent of the nations' salvation. Those who rebel, however, are judged. These same return-from-exile events spell judgment for the enemies of Yahweh's people (45:24; 47:1–15; 49:26; 50:7–11; 51:23). The point remains: the nations are invited to join Yahweh on the road/way, and thereby join the new Israel. See also Rikki E. Watts, “Echoes from the Past: Israel's Ancient Traditions and the Destiny of the Nations in Isaiah 40–55,” *JSTOT* 28 (2004): 481–508.

70 Particularly interesting is the way “all the seed of Israel” (כָּל־זֶרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל) are spoken of (45:25) *in the context given to inviting the nations* to turn to Yahweh for salvation (45:20–46:2). On the other hand, the speakers in 44:5 (apparently Jews; cf. 44:2–3) are *now* claiming for themselves “the name of Israel” (יְהוָה יִשְׂרָאֵל יְבָשֶׁם; van Winkle, “Proselytes?,” 341–59).

71 Cf. *inter alia* 1 En. 1:1–8; 1QS VIII, 12–16. See Snodgrass, “Streams,” 24–45. Watts calls Isaiah 40 “a *locus classicus* in materials concerned with Israel's eschatological hope” (*New Exodus*, 87). This very passage may even have been *the* impetus for why the Qumran community chose the desert.

To summarize, Isa 40:1–11 is an introductory pericope that condenses and insinuates the content of all of Isaiah 40–55. Yahweh is traveling along the road/way and calling Israel to come out of exile, for their sins are forgiven, and join him as he returns to Jerusalem. This means of salvation—a second exodus—is proof positive that he alone is God. In the end the reformed nation provides an accurate witness (to Yahweh’s exclusive divinity) to the nations, and the Gentiles are invited to join the end-of-exile Israel as the one God’s eschatological covenant people. The voice of Isa 40:3 announces that this second-exodus return from exile is about to happen.

Matthew’s Conversation with Isaiah

The quotation of Isa 40:3 in Matt 3:3 generates Isa 40:1–11, and by extension the content of Isaiah 40–55,⁷² into Matthew’s narrative which places the reader in the middle of an illuminative conversation. Kennedy comes close in observing that “the quotation in verse 3 of Isaiah 40:3 further underscores that the exodus is being recapitulated.”⁷³ But more than a recapitulation, the reader perceives that if Isaiah 40–55 is saying that “Israel” is unformed until this second exodus, then Matt 3:3’s οὗτος γὰρ ἐστίν is saying it is now happening. What scholars are seeing as a “recapitulation” is Matthew’s narration of Isaiah’s predicted ecclesiologically formative event.⁷⁴ It is not just *reliving* the old, but doing something entirely new though described in the language of the old.

72 Pao says that the common use of Isaiah 40 in Second Temple literature “alerts one of [its] connotative power” to evoke all of Isaiah 40–55 (*New Exodus*, 37, 41–45).

73 Kennedy, *Recapitulation*, 177.

74 This observation sheds light on two *crux interpreta* in this context: Jesus’ πληρῶσαι πάσαν δικαιοσύνην (3:15) and Satan’s εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ (4:3, 6). In the former δικαιοσύνη needs to mean nothing more than doing the right thing, obeying a religious requirement. Why, of course, comes the question, would baptism be the *right thing to do* for Jesus? As with other uses of πληρῶω, Jesus is here completing what the prophets say must happen—in this case Israel must go on another exodus in order to come out of exile. It is “right” because what the prophets foretell must occur. Fulfilling *all* righteousness, therefore, is the baptism and the successful endurance of the wilderness testing. Jesus is “completing all the right things to do.” And this sits at the heart of Satan’s test; if Jesus is like the “son of God” (Israel) who first went on exodus then Jesus will fail the ensuing tests. In a sense, Satan is exactly hoping this will be a true “recapitulation” of the past. But no; the prophets foretell, and Matthew narrates, a new thing: not a full recapitulation of the past exodus but a successful and superior one.

Davies and Allison are also right that “originally Isa 40.3 spoke to the exiles in Babylon, comforting them with the immediate prospect of return.”⁷⁵ They are incorrect, however, that in Matthew we have a “thorough reinterpretation which disregards original context.”⁷⁶ To the contrary, the amplification of the context of Isa 40:1–11 (indeed the entirety of Isaiah 40–55) is what gives the quotation its power, in part by providing partial resolution to Matthew’s ecclesiological ambiguity in the same language that created it: exile and restoration of Yahweh’s people.

This is seen in five ways. (1) Jesus is the lone Israelite who responds to Yahweh’s call, made through John (3:2), to come out of exile on a second exodus. (2) Jesus is *also* the end-of-exile manifestation of Yahweh traveling through the desert on the road/way. Therefore as Jesus, the embodiment of Yahweh, travels along the road/way he (3) takes over the same message John had (compare 3:2 to 4:17) to call others to join him in constituting the new end-of-exile Israel. (4) This call goes out to Jew and Gentile alike (4:15–16). And (5) those who respond will also have their sins forgiven through the vicarious death of “Israel” by the end of the narrative (20:28; 26:28).

First, as I argue above, the Matthean context presents Jesus as the only true Israelite. In the language of the OT, he *is* the “remnant.” He is Israel. He is all that is left at the end of the exile. Since the genealogy and 1:21, the reader has been left in the dark as to who is Israel—who are “his people”—and who therefore will return from exile with the Davidic king. Matthew 3:1–4:12 provides *a little* light for the reader: the Davidic king is the only Israelite left; he will come out of exile. If the nation is in exile, then the whole nation has to come out. Thus Yahweh makes his appeal through John (3:2)⁷⁷ for the whole nation to respond. It does. Jesus responds. He, therefore, comprises the entire nation coming through the waters and into the wilderness to be tested on its second exodus. As the first exodus defined who Yahweh’s people are, so too does this one according to Isaiah. Jesus alone is Israel.⁷⁸ The narrative then proceeds to portray Jesus—and Jesus alone—not merely reenacting the exodus, but acting out the expectations for the first time of the “Israel up to the task” coming home in the second exodus.

75 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:293.

76 Ibid.

77 So too Yamasaki, *John*, 83, 89; Kennedy, *Recapitulation*, 170.

78 It is not lost on me that I say in chapter three that the new David *leads* Israel out of exile; it seems strange to say that David will lead himself. But the narrative does not end in 4:12. Just as the bounds of “Israel” have shrunk to the Davdide alone, they will expand before the narrative is over.

Yet, the Isaianic context contributes this to the conversation. Yes, Jesus is Israel, but Jesus is *also* Yahweh on the road/way looking for people to travel with him and fill out the rest of the new end-of-exile Israel. Isaiah 40:3 declares that the road/way is to be prepared for יהיה/κύριος. The reader expects a theophany, therefore, shortly after 3:3 and reads in 3:13 that Jesus παραγίνεται.⁷⁹ “There is a remarkable christological claim involved in applying Isaiah’s depiction of *God’s* forerunner to the man who prepared the way for the coming of *Jesus*.”⁸⁰ The larger context of Isaiah 40–55 reinforces the evangelist’s bold claim.⁸¹ There Yahweh is envisaged traveling through the desert on the road/way of the end-of-exile second exodus. Insofar as Jesus is going on this second exodus in Matt 3:15–4:11, as was expected of Yahweh in Isaiah 40–55, then Jesus is equated with Yahweh. But in Isaiah 40–55 Yahweh is not the only one on the road/way. With him are exiles who respond to his word. Thus, in the conversation with the Matthean context Isaiah 40–55 not only presents Jesus as Yahweh, but insofar as he goes through the waters *alone*, then he is also Israel traveling with Yahweh. In short, Jesus is *both* travelers: he is Yahweh *and* those who respond to the “come-out-of-exile” call through John. Jesus is Israel. (Jesus is David.) Jesus is Yahweh.

Third, commentators are unanimous that John’s message is linked with Jesus.⁸² It is hard for the reader to miss this; Matthew summarizes their

79 This is a good place to comment on the difference between MT Isa 40:3 and Matt 3:3 (which uses LXX Isa 40:3) concerning what happens in the desert: the preparation of the road/way (MT) or the crying of the voice (LXX). Not too much is to be made of this discrepancy. As Gundry and others point out, if the command is voiced in the wilderness—Matt 3:3—it is in order that the command is obeyed there in the wilderness—Isa 40:3 (Use, 9–10). That is, in Matthew, John is preaching in the place where the road/way is to be prepared. Gundry also reminds us that the MT’s accents are not sacrosanct, evinced by the translations of Isa 40:3 in the LXX, Targum, OT Peshitta, Vulgate and rabbis. Taylor demonstrates how the MT can be read both ways (*Immerser*, 25–27). That said, Stendahl is right that the parallelism between “in the wilderness” and “in the desert” shows that the Masoretes got it right (*School*, 48). Stendahl is wrong, however, that the change the LXX makes is “necessary to its function in the gospels” (*ibid.*), for it is not merely John’s location that Matthew has in view, but—as I argue throughout—the *content* of the quotation and its generated OT context. In that case the location of the highway (and the voice) in the desert matters, *for* it is through the desert that the exiles must travel to get home.

80 France, *Matthew*, 105; emphasis original.

81 This is an unprecedented theological move. Even 1QS viii, 12–16 attempts nothing like this. While the community identifies itself as the crying voice, it is still waiting for Yahweh’s arrival. Whereas they are still preparing the way, Matthew says the preparation is done; Yahweh παραγίνεται in Jesus.

82 See esp. Nolland, *Matthew*, 137, 174–75; France, *Matthew*, 98.

messages identically (compare 3:2 to 4:17). Listening to Isaiah's voice in Matthew 3–4, the reader perceives that Jesus' preaching ministry is the continuation of Yahweh's call to the exiles that had begun with John in 3:2.⁸³ The call to which "Israel"—Jesus only—responded to in 3:2 is the call that Yahweh on the road/way—Jesus in Matthew—calls out to non-Israelites to join him and his end-of-exile people in constituting the new Israel. John's message (Yahweh's call to Israel) then becomes Jesus' (Yahweh and Israel's call to non-Israel). This raises the fourth point.

If one is not part of Israel, then one is a Gentile. In the Isaianic-Matthean conversation, this means *anyone* who is not Jesus. And in Isaiah 40–55 the call of Yahweh goes out to non-Israelites—to Gentiles—to join Yahweh and Israel on the end-of-exile road/way. Any who will respond to Jesus' preaching in effect become proselytes—be they national Israel or ethnic Gentiles—converting from false to true worship of the one and only God. They, in effect, *become* Yahweh's people by, as Isaiah 40–55 foretells, submitting to "Israel."⁸⁴ From Matthew's perspective, that means submitting to Jesus. The requisite submission of the Gentiles to "Israel" foreseen in Isaiah 40–55 is submission to Jesus. Jew and Gentile alike are invited to submit to this one and only Israelite and in so doing become Yahweh's people at the end of the exile.⁸⁵ Matthew 4:17–16:20, then, is Jesus' call to national Israel and Gentiles, in the words of Isa 44:22, to "return to me" (שׁוּבוּ אֵלַי) and become Yahweh's true witnesses. In fact, "[t]hroughout Matthew Isaiah's name is associated on the one hand with Jesus' ministry to a blind Israel that rejects him and, on the other hand, with the salvation held out to the Gentiles."⁸⁶

Who, then, are the stones of Matt 3:9? They are whoever responds to Jesus' call along the end-of-exile road/way.⁸⁷ It is not the people who have come to John; though they have responded to his call (3:2, 5–6), they need to respond to Jesus' call (4:17). Equally, the reader asks, Who are Yahweh's people of Isa 40:1 (עַמִּי) and his flock of Isa 40:11 (עֶדְרֵי)? They are (1) Jesus, for he has responded to the initial end-of-exile call of Isa 40:3; they are also (2) those who respond to Yahweh's ongoing invitation (Matt 4:17) to join Jesus on his new exodus.

83 Yamasaki argues that the reader perceives through 3:1–5 that "clearly, the narrator has plans to develop this theme [John's message in 3:2] later in the narrative" (*John*, 81–83, 85).

84 See n. 69 above.

85 Little surprise, therefore, that the next pericope is 4:12–16 with its focus on the "way" by the sea in Galilee *of the Gentiles*.

86 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:292.

87 So too Charette, *Recompense*, 67–69. While this includes Gentiles, it does not identify them as the stones *over against* Jews (*pace* Davies and Allison, 1:309).

Finally, the issue of forgiveness of sins, so important in Isaiah 49–55, awaits resolution. This, of course, is the great tension of the narrative: how does Jesus save from *sins* (1:21)?⁸⁸ It is a question suited only for the climactic events of the book to answer. Sufficient hints along the way (20:28; 26:28) are enough to remind the reader of Isaiah's end-of-exile requirement (and 1:21) and maintain the tense expectation.

To summarize, Isaiah's second exodus for Israel has begun in Jesus' baptism and wilderness testing. While Matt 3:1–4:11 shrinks the boundaries of "Israel" to one man, the fact that Yahweh is commencing his journey on the end-of-exile road/way, calling out to one and all to join him (Isaiah 40–55), the *potential* of how big "Israel" can be is endless. While Jesus may be the only true Israelite in the narrative right now, others are invited to unite with him as his word goes out (cf. 4:17 and its connection to 3:2), just as they are invited to join Yahweh in Isaiah 40–55 as his word goes out. It all depends on who does, and who does not, respond to Jesus from Matt 4:17 on. Those who do respond come out of exile, into a new covenant communion with Yahweh and join Jesus in reconstituting Israel. Thus, this is a highly ecclesologically determinative passage: only Jesus is Israel, but the program is set for who can join him in this category. Those who do, inherit the title "the new Israel at the end of the exile."

Summary and Conclusion

Matthew 1–2 presents the theological setting of the first gospel as one of ongoing exile. The narrational development and intertextual conversations create for the reader an expectation that the exile is about to end; a new exodus is on the horizon. With chapter 3 Matthew turns the page in redemptive-history and begins to describe his account of the exile-ending second exodus: the individualized/particularized remnant, Jesus of Nazareth, goes through the waters and into the wilderness to be tested. This, then, is the beginning of Isaiah 40–55's second exodus. Just as "Israel" becomes an agent for the nations' salvation in Isa 40–55, so too this new "Israel," the lone person Jesus of Nazareth, becomes the agent by which the nations can be saved. Additionally, Jesus is also the manifestation of Yahweh calling Jew and Gentile alike to join him on the end-of-exile road/way, the telos of which will be their forgiveness and inclusion into his new people. These events comprise the expected second exodus at the end of the exile.

88 The reader remembers that Isa 40:1–2 also raises the issue of forgiveness without explanation until Isa 52:13–53:12.

Given that no return from Babylon (or Persia or Greece or Rome) ever came anywhere close to fully ending Israel's hard service, paying for its sins, or leveling (even metaphorically) all its rugged places, and certainly no event prior to Christ's coming ever revealed the glory of the Lord to all humanity, it seems reasonable to suggest that Isaiah had a more distant, grander fulfillment. . . .⁸⁹

That fulfillment, Matthew narrates. That which sprouts in 2:23 is grown and still growing by 4:11. The next step is for the call to go forth to any and all—Jew and Gentile—to join Yahweh on the end-of-exile road/way in filling up the theological category “Israel.”

The net effect of Matthew's deft storytelling is to reinforce the «end-of-exile» frame the narrative has already selected while contributing even more icons to it. The second exodus has begun and further prophetic markers of the end of the exile can be expected in the ensuing narrative.

Of Fish and Exiles (Matthew 4:18–22)

Looking ahead, with this «end-of-exile» frame in view it comes with little surprise that the summary of Jesus' message (4:17) follows quickly on the heels of this passage. Isaiah's second exodus has begun in Jesus' baptism and wilderness testing; starting, then, in 4:17 the program begins for expanding the bounds of Israel and defining “his people” whom he will save (1:21). Thus, the reader is ready for the account of Andrew, Peter, John and James' response that follows immediately upon the commencement of Jesus' preaching ministry (4:18–22). In following Jesus the disciples align themselves with him, and by extension become Israel through their association with him. Moreover, these disciples are forecasted to participate with Jesus in the end-of-exile reconstitution of Israel; this is seen in the moniker Jesus gives them in verse 19 (ποιήσω ὑμᾶς ἁλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων) which is reminiscent of Jer 16:16.⁹⁰ There, Yahweh sends fishermen (יִשְׂרָאֵל; τοὺς ἁλιεῖς) to fish (יִשְׂרָאֵל; ἀλιεύσουσιν) the exiles (Jer 16:15) out of the mountains, hills and rocks beyond the land, surpassing the salvation of the first exodus (Jer 16:14).⁹¹ Insofar as Jesus calls them fishers of men, he

89 Blomberg, “Matthew,” 13.

90 This background has been suggested before (see e.g. Tertullian, *Marc.* 4.9) but has not carried much weight with scholars (but see Knowles, *Jeremiah*, 194 n. 3). The end-of-exile frame, selected time and again in the prologue, however, makes the reading cogent.

91 It is typically taken that Jer 16:16 is a promise of judgment for Judah, and so the fishermen and hunters are attacking nations (so Wilhelm H. Wuellner, *The Meaning of “Fishers of Men”* [NTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1967], 92; J. A. Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*

is commissioning these disciples to help him expand the roles of Israel even further.⁹² This comes to fruition most clearly in 10:1–11:1 and 28:16–20.⁹³

Reinforcing the Isaiah 40–55 Frame (Matthew 8:17; 12:17–21)

The clearest places in the narrative, however, where this frame is re-employed are where the narrator invokes Isaiah 40–55 again with formula-quotations: Matt 8:17 (Isa 53:4) and Matt 12:17–21 (Isa 42:1–4). As argued above, this larger section of Isaiah comprises an end-of-exile prediction, laden with several icons; as in 3:3 it is generated into, and amplified over, the larger contexts of Matthew 8 and 12. In fact, Menken contends that insofar as the citations reside in *summary* sections (specifically describing Jesus' healing ministry; 8:16 and 12:15–16), both stretch out to affect contexts larger than just Matthew 8 and 12.⁹⁴ "At these strategic points, [Matthew] could show that not just individual incidents during Jesus' ministry but entire aspects of it, such as his preaching and healing, constituted the fulfilment of OT prophecy."⁹⁵ I agree.⁹⁶ The

[NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980], 410; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 1:478–79; Knowles, *Jeremiah*, 194–97; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 192–93). John M. Bracke, however, appreciates a little more of the complexity of Jer 16:10–21 (*Jeremiah* [2 vols.; WestBC; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2000], 1:143–44). He observes that v. 15 is a promise of restoration, vv. 17–18 concern atonement, and vv. 19–21 are a prayer of praise for deliverance. This puts v. 16 right in the middle of a larger context of *restoration*. See also Walter Brueggemann for the plausibility of this reading (*A Commentary on Jeremiah: Exile and Homecoming* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998], 155–57). Knowles does not even consider the context (*Jeremiah*, 195). Instead he defers to Ezek 12:13; 17:20; Amos 4:2; Hab 1:14–17 where nets and hooks are used in judgment. But should not a text's immediate context be consulted first? And are the prophets confined to monolithic metaphors? Plus, *nets and hooks* are not the precise image in Jer 16:16, but *fishermen and hunters* (a distinction Knowles recognizes [*ibid.*, 197]). Moreover, Jindřich Mánek reads both Jer 16:15–16 and Matt 4:19 in light the larger biblical cosmogony, concluding that "fishing people out" is an image of rescue/victory, not judgment ("Fishers of Men," *NovT* 2 [1957–1958]: 138–40). While Knowles mentions Mánek, he does not deal with his argument, stating merely that "no trace of [the cosmological myth] remains here" (*Jeremiah*, 195). But why not?

92 This reading is reinforced by my next chapter where I argue that the location of this event, παρά τὴν θάλασσαν, is also an end-of-exile icon.

93 So too Mánek, "Fishers," 140–41; see also my conclusion to chapter two, and chapter nine pp. 234–37.

94 Menken, "Messianic Interpretation," 482–83; cf. also Nolland, *Matthew*, 361.

95 Menken, "Messianic Interpretation," 483.

96 Luz also observes that 8:16–17 forms an inclusio of sorts with 4:23—both summarize Jesus' healing ministry, using forms of θεραπεύω and νόσος (*Matthew*, 2:13). This places the Sermon on the Mount between. Others see the inclusio in 4:23–25 and 9:35 (Davies and

fact that Jesus casts out demons “with a word” (λόγῳ; 8:16) conceptually links Jesus’ teaching and healing ministries.⁹⁷ It seems, therefore, that through these chapters the reader understands Jesus’ teaching and healing as part and parcel of his efforts to bring Israel’s exile to an end, as foreseen in Isaiah 40–55.⁹⁸ As Adrian M. Leske puts it, “All seems to be an affirmation of Deutero-Isaiah’s final statement that God’s word would accomplish that which he purposes (Isa 55:11).”⁹⁹

Furthermore, Isa 42:1–4 is part of a summary section that comes right after the first explicit statement of the Pharisees’ plans to destroy Jesus (12:14). Thus begins the narrative thread of hostility from Israel’s leaders that will climax at Jesus’ crucifixion, and the characterization of Israel’s leaders as Israel’s *oppressors* is brought again before the reader, first suggested in the prologue (2:1–12 esp.). Moreover, several scholars point out that this quotation has many links to a broad Matthean context: questions of Jesus’ authority, what spirit he possesses, whether or not people will listen to his teaching, judgment upon unbelievers, and justice for the oppressed.¹⁰⁰ Thus, several reoccurring themes in the rest of Matthew find an anchor in a formula-quotation that evokes the end-of-exile imagery of Isaiah 40–55.¹⁰¹ The entirety of Matthew’s gospel

Allison, *Matthew*, 2:35; Leske, “Influence,” 905), which makes the context even larger over which Isa 53:4 casts its hermeneutical sway.

97 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:36; Leske, “Influence,” 905. Cf. also 8:8.

98 The prophetic definition of who will be coming out of exile, after all, emphasizes the poor and the marginalized, especially in the contexts of the prologue-quotations—Isa 10:2; 11:4–5; Mic 4:6; Jer 31:8; Isa 41:17; 42:7.

99 Leske, “Influences,” 905–906; cf. also Baxter, “Mosaic Imagery,” 75–76. *Pace* Luz who, in typical fashion, says, “Our quotation is an example of the way early Christian exegesis . . . sometimes quotes individual words of scripture without any regard for their context” (*Matthew*, 2:14). On what appears to be a discrepancy between the Isaianic and Matthean contexts (vicarious suffering for sins vs. eradication of disease) see Carson, *Matthew*, 205–206; Novakovic, *Messiah*, 67, 72, 130–32, 188–89.

100 Jerome H. Neyrey, “The Thematic Use of Isaiah 42:1–4 in Matthew 12,” *Bib* 63 (1982): 457–73; Richard Beaton, “Messiah and Justice: A Key to Matthew’s Use of Isaiah 42.1–4?,” *JSNNT* 75 (1999): 5–23; Novakovic, *Messiah*, 136–51. Alicia D. Myers has also argued that the contextual links across Matthew 11–14 (including the themes of seeing and hearing) mark these entire four chapters as “the Matthean context” on which Isa 42:1–4 bears (“Isaiah 42 and the Characterization of Jesus in Matthew 12:17–21,” in *What Does the Scripture Say?: Studies in the Function of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity; Volume 1: The Synoptic Gospels* [ed. Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias; LNTS 469/SEJC 17; London: T&T Clark, 2012], 78–84).

101 I would also add to the consideration Jesus’ enigmatic statement in 12:30. Forms of both συνάγω and σκορπίζω are used in LXX Deut 30:3 and LXX Ezek 28:25 to speak of the begin-

seems to be shaping into an end-of-exile fulfillment through the prologue-selected frames.

The Blind and the Seeing (Matthew 13:9–17)

Finally, the reader also employs the frame in chapter 13. In 13:9 Jesus invites “the one who has an ear” *to hear*. This alone evokes the end-of-exile frame insofar as deafness is a symptom of exile (cf. Isa 40:5; 42:6–7; 18–20; 43:8; 50:5; 52:14–15). Indeed, Jesus’ application of Isa 6:9–10 in Matt 13:13–15 reinforces the ongoing exile setting.¹⁰² But in verse 16 Jesus says his disciples are blessed because *their* eyes see and *their* ears hear. That is, *they* are coming out of exile; the evidence is their response to Jesus’ preaching (cf. also 13:51; 15:16–17 notwithstanding).¹⁰³ The emphatic position of the first ὁμῶν in verse 16 sharply distinguishes the disciples from “the prophets and righteous ones” of verse 17 who endured the long exile, having not “seen” or “heard.”¹⁰⁴ Thus, the disciples are the first to follow Jesus out of exile. Others, however, are still blind and deaf, still in exile

ning (διασκορπισίω) and the end (συνάγω) of exile. Could Jesus be saying that those who do not aid him in regathering his exiled people only contribute to aggravating the exile for others? It fits well with the context; Leske calls Matt 12:29 “an obvious allusion to Isa 49:24–25 which pictures the nations bringing the scattered children of Israel back to the restored Kingdom” (“Influence,” 910). See also Luz, *Matthew*, 2:205–206; Nolland, *Matthew*, 504.

- 102 Daling argues that Jesus’ use of Isaiah 6 in Matthew 13 signifies that the condition of exile has persisted since the prophet’s day (“Idolatry,” 190–207, 324–25).

Some scholars (e.g. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:393–94) see vv. 14–15 as a post-Matthean interpolation. Most of the issues prompting this, however, can be resolved in other ways. The verb ἀναπληρόω, a Matthean *hapax*, could mean that Isa 6:9–10 is *again* fulfilled or *completely* fulfilled (France, *Matthew*, 514). This is not far afield from what Daling and I are arguing. The fact that an introductory formula is only here found on Jesus’ lips is no problem; it heightens the punch of the quotation when the reader is so used to hearing it from the narrator (similarly, Howell, *Inclusive Story*, 179–90). Finally, the argument that the text runs smoothly without vv. 14–15 seems empty. What text does not run more smoothly without the interjection of a direct quotation? My reader probably thinks that about this work! I can guarantee, however, that I am responsible for the inclusion of all of them. And without any textual evidence of a “shorter reading” it is best to retain the text (Nolland, *Matthew*, 535). All the same, the meaning remains since even Davies and Allison concede that Isa 6:9 is clearly alluded to in 13:13 (*Matthew*, 2:394). See also Daling, “Idolatry,” 181 n. 23 and bibliog. ad loc.

- 103 See Keener on Jewish traditions that “link ability to understand with membership in the community of Israel” (*Matthew*, 378–81).

- 104 To be sure, this also seems to be an indictment against the Jewish leadership and the crowds; they are sinking further into an irreversible exile (see Daling, “Idolatry,” 200–204).

(13:13).¹⁰⁵ This reading casts an end-of-exile frame around all of Matthew's parables (13:1–58; 21:28–22:14). My reader has surely already seen this coming: the prologue's frames are shaping the entire gospel into a return from exile narrative.

But I dare not get too far ahead of myself. There is one more prologue-quotation to explore—one that summarizes and pulls together the frames already selected, and cashes in on the reader's expectations. It is to Matt 4:12–16, the prologue's climactic quotation, we now turn.

105 Present here may also be two icons unique to Isaiah 40–55's contribution to the larger frame: idolatry (see Daling, "Idolatry," 103–53, 200–209, 323–25) and the effectual call of Yahweh's spoken word. To be sure, several of the icons already encountered constellate in this intertextual conversation: forgiveness, regathering of exiles, Yahweh on the "road/way" heading back to Jerusalem, and inclusion of Gentiles.

The Effect of Isaiah's Narrative World in Matthew 4:12–17

Matthew 4:12–17 is the prologue's climax.¹ Everything pushes forward to this moment when the Son of David becomes the narrative's active protagonist.² So far the reader has seen how the exile has served as the barrier for Yahweh's covenantal promises to Abraham and David (1:1–17), but that Yahweh has actually not forsaken his people in that he is now re-enthroning the house of David in preparation for ending his people's exile (1:18–25). The characterization in 2:1–12 further serves to set the narrative in this time of ongoing exile, as do the events of 2:13–21. The identification of Jesus as the Ναζωραίος (2:22–23) then marks the anticipated first break in exilic inertia and starts the recession. Through these first two chapters the author has also created ambiguity regarding the identity of Yahweh's true covenant people. Matthew 3:1–4:11 provides the initial resolution to the query: Jesus is Israel. Through it all the reader's interpretation of these scenes has been aided by the narrator's commentaries in the OT formula-quotations, which have also consistently selected «David» and «end-of-exile» frames. All this makes Matthew very much at home among the catalogue of Second Temple texts, yet also quite original.

Approaching the end of the prologue, the reader encounters one more quotation, Isa 8:23–9:1 [EB 9:1–2] in Matt 4:15–16, itself a climax to the set of seven. In this one, the themes of the former six dovetail and their frames, «David» and «end-of-exile», are reinforced (again). The result is that the narrative

1 Soares Prabhu attempts to argue that 4:17 “does not belong to the context of 4:14–16” (*Formula*, 121–23; quote from p. 123). To him, “The formula quotation is Mt’s *concluding* comment on the coming of Jesus into Galilee.” So 4:15–16 only looks back (to the context of only 4:12–13), and 4:17 only looks forward. This just will not do. Miller shows how Matt 4:12–17 constitutes a coherent and indivisible pericope (*Citations*, 90). Closely linked with 3:2, 4:17 forms a temporal inclusio with 4:12a, and “le fait, enfin, que 4,12–25 soit une unité de niveau supérieur, à lire dans le context de Mt 1–4, invite à ne pas reconnaître une césure importante entre 4,16 et 4,17” (ibid.). On this last point see ibid., 91–100. On pp. 91–100, he makes a strong case for reading Matt 4:12–17 as part of the larger unit Matt 4:12–25 based on the repeated use of *κηρύσσω* (4:17, 23) and *πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου* (4:15, 25)—a case with which I agree. I argue below, however, that such fluidity between pericopae does not negate the narrational reorientation that Matt 4:17 provides for Matthew’s macrostructure.

2 See also Howell, *Inclusive Story*, 126–28.

has brought the reader to this understanding: those in exile are summoned to return under the leadership of the eschatological Davidide who will unite “his people” (cf. 1:21) under his teaching and rule, while those opposed to the new David will be judged. As 1:1–4:11 places all in exile, 4:12–17 commences the return which also opens the door for Gentiles to join the eschatological Israel. Thus ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν in 4:17, the arrival of which Jesus announces, is the obverse of exile. As a summary of Jesus’ coming preaching, the declaration propels the reader into the narrative proper where the story must be navigated without the benefit of the narrator’s repetitive commentary enjoyed throughout the prologue—but not without the memory thereof. Thus, Matt 4:15–16 is the narrator’s last intrusive commentary before sending the reader into the narrative alone (for a while at least until 8:17) with clearly selected frames for interpretation.

Matthew 4:15–16 in Context

Matthew 4:12–17 contains the last of the seven successive prologue-quotations.³ And in citing Isa 8:23–9:1 in 4:15–16, Matthew closes off an inclusio with the quote of Isa 7:14 in 1:22–23.⁴ The narrative world of Isaiah 7–12 is, therefore, evoked at the two most prominent places in the prologue by contributing the first and last explicit OT voices.⁵ These are the final words before the narrative is reoriented in 4:17 and Jesus’ public preaching of the nearness of the kingdom of heaven is launched. Thus, Matt 1:23 and 4:15–16 form an inclusio of prologue-quotations; the first and the last both generate the narrative of Isaiah 7–12. The effect is to envelop the prologue in this specific Isianic framework, the story of Isaiah 7–12, where David’s house is threatened with but preserved from exile; David’s enemies, however, do go into exile. Yet the Isaianic narrative itself points to a day beyond its historical moment to the eschatological establishment of the house of David and the final release from exile for people in covenant with Yahweh through David (ch. 9, 11, 12). This larger Isaianic narrative (which I have argued Matthew generates not only at 1:23 and 4:15–16—the prologue’s beginning and end—but also at the hinge text of 2:23) evokes redemptive-historical expectations, within which the other quotations serve to move the prologue’s narrative along to this climactic moment. This suggests that that which is “fulfilled” (4:14) is not merely 4:12–13, but everything

3 See Krentz, “Extent,” 412–14.

4 See also Carter, “Evoking,” 503–20.

5 See also *ibid.*, 507; Blomberg, “Matthew,” 18.

from 1:1–4:13. Thus, the reader perceives the events heretofore summed up in this final prologue-quotation.⁶

Also, as mentioned in my previous chapter, 4:17 is a verbatim recitation of the summary of John's preaching in 3:2 (μετανοεῖτε· ἡγγικεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν). Thus it too looks back to John's summons to Israel to return from exile via a second exodus, thereby infusing Jesus' own proclamation with the same meaning. The call in 3:2 is a command to come out of exile; in 4:17 it is the same. Seeing that only Jesus responded in 3:2, the reissue of the decree causes the reader to expect a narrative of how others will respond to it from Jesus' lips.

Thus, Matt 4:12–17 also looks forward; it is the bridge to the rest of the narrative.⁷ This is seen in the contents of the quote itself (4:15–16) and the first Matthean summary statement (4:17). They both project coming events and therefore interpret one another.⁸ I will consider them in turn.

The content of 4:15–16 is significant for understanding ensuing details. To begin, the reader wonders what the point of the proclamation of salvation in "the land of Zebulun" (v. 15) can possibly be since it appears that Jesus has just *left* that area in verse 13.⁹ Furthermore, what does "beyond the Jordan" mean in verse 15 seeing that Jesus does *not* go there in verse 13? To both of these questions Menken provides an insightful answer: the references to Zebulun and the lands "beyond the Jordan" are proleptic, anticipating Jesus' arrival in the former in 13:53–58 as he returns to his "hometown," and the coming of *others* from

6 Similarly, see Krentz, "Extent," 410; Warren Carter, "Kernels and Narrative Blocks: The Structure of Matthew's Gospel," *CBQ* 54 (1992): 469–71; Weren, "Quotations," 462; Gnllka, *Matthäusevangelium*, 1:94, 96; Miler, *Citations*, 92–97; Howell, *Inclusive Story*, 126–28; Beaton, *Isaiah's Christ*, 109.

7 See Wim J. C. Weren, "The Macrostructure of Matthew's Gospel: A New Proposal," *Bib* 87 (2006): 186–90; idem, "Quotations," 462–63. So too Frans Neirynck, "La rédaction matthéenne et la structure du premier Évangile," *ETL* 43 (1967), 56–58; Beaton, *Isaiah's Christ*, 104–106; France, *Matthew*, 139–40, 144; Blomberg, "Matthew," 18. Donald Senior calls this pericope "a critical transition scene" (*Matthew* [ANTC; Nashville: Abindon, 1998], 61). Carter says it well: "The section 4:12–16 closes the first narrative block and prepares for the beginning of Jesus' public ministry at 4:17" ("Evoking," 514). Miler gives 4:12–25 that honor: "L'unité narrative de 4:12–25 clôt la première section de l'évangile et introduit à la deuxième" (*Citations*, 91–95, 101).

8 See also Neirynck, "Rédaction," 56–58; Miler, *Citations*, 97–100.

9 It could be that Zebulun actually extended all the way to the Sea of Galilee—possibly Josephus' meaning in *J.W.* 3.35–40—and so Jesus' arrival in Capernaum by the sea means that he is still in some way in the region of Zebulun. Alternatively, in *J.W.* 3:38 ἡς ἐν τοῖς παραλίοις could refer to Galilee itself or a description of Zebulun reaching to the Mediterranean, not the Sea of Galilee.

beyond the Jordan to see Jesus in 4:25; 8:28–34; 19:1–2.¹⁰ It is in *these ways* that the “light” shines in *Zebulun* and *beyond the Jordan*. Thus Matt 4:15–16 looks forward to Jesus’ Galilean ministry (4:18–19:2), and Matt 4:25, 8:28–34, 13:53–58 and 19:1–2 remind the reader that *all of Jesus’ work in these regions is the shining of Isaiah’s “light.”*

Matthew 4:17 is also proleptic, but for different reasons. It summarizes the content of 4:18–16:20, specifically Jesus’ preaching.¹¹ As mentioned above, here in 4:17 Jesus takes over John’s summons, calling others now to join him in constituting the growing end-of-exile Israel. Jesus *is* Israel, and anyone who responds to the same call (4:17) to which he responded (3:2) becomes Israel

- 10 Maarten J. J. Menken, “Textual Form of the Quotation from Isaiah 8:23–9:1 in Matthew 4:15–16,” in idem, *Matthew’s Bible: The Old Testament Text of the Evangelist* (BETL 173; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004), 21; repr. from *RB* 105 (1998). Cf. also Miler, *Citations*, 98. This solution is far more satisfying than Luz’s suggestion that Matthew has simply mindlessly followed his sources (*Matthew*, 1:157). This is also a better solution than the case made by H. Dixon Slingerland that Matthew means the west bank of the sea insofar as the Matthean community looks over the sea from the east side (“The Transjordanian Origin of St. Matthew’s Gospel,” *JSTNT* 3 [1979]: 18–28; cf. also Petri Luomanen, *Entering the Kingdom of Heaven: A Study on the Structure of Matthew’s View of Salvation* [WUNT 2/101; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998], 275–77). Luomanen adds 8:28–29 and 19:1 to the evidence for this view (*Entering*, 276–77). The problem with it is that in 4:25 “beyond the Jordan” clearly means the east. And as Hagner points out, “The phrase reflects too standard an expression to describe anything other than the trans-Jordan territory (cf. esp. v 25)” (*Matthew*, 1:73). In the LXX πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου is ubiquitous; see esp. Deut 3:20, 25; 4:49; Josh 1:15; 13:27; 22:4; 24:8; Isa 8:23.
- 11 The attempt by scholars to organize Matthew into three blocks (1:1–4:16; 4:17–16:20; 16:21–28:20) is well known. See Ned Bernard Stonehouse, *The Witness of Matthew and Mark to Christ* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Guardian, 1944), 129–31; Ernst Lohmeyer, *Das Evangelium des Matthäus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956), 1–4, 7–10, 64, 264; Krentz, “Extent,” 409–14; Kingsbury, “Structure,” 451–74; idem, *Structure*, ix–xx, 7–25; idem, *Story*, 41–94; Bauer, *Structure*, 73–108; Mark Allan Powell, “Plot and Subplots of Matthew’s Gospel,” *NTS* 38 (1992): 193–95. Weren provides a fruitful development of the thesis (“Macrostructure,” 176–200). Regarding 4:17 specifically, see also Howell, *Inclusive Story*, 109–14, 126–30; Carter, “Kernels,” 472–80; Gnllka, *Matthäusevangelium*, 1:99; Gundry, *Matthew*, 61. For an argument, however, that ἀπὸ τότε looks *back* in the narrative, see Neirynck, “Rédaction,” 56–58; idem, “ἀπο τότε ἤρξατο and the Structure of Matthew,” *ETL* 64 (1988): 21–59, esp. 33–35, 41–59; Luz, *Matthew*, 1:156; Beaton, *Isaiah’s Christ*, 104. But surely ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς κηρύσσειν looks forward to new developments (so too Soares Prabhu, *Formula*, 98, 120–21; Carson, *Matthew*, 117; Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:71–72, 74; Miler, *Citations*, 89 esp. nn. 31–35; 90). Rather than singling out 4:17, Senior says, “It is better to see this *entire scene* (vv. 12–17) as an inaugural piece that launches Jesus’ Galilean ministry and sounds a theme that will carry through the whole Gospel” (*Matthew*, 61; emphasis original).

through their affiliation with him. Moreover, just as Isaiah 40–55 (which is closely linked to the meaning of 3:2) foresees Gentiles joining Israel at this end-of-exile moment, so now in 4:17 everyone is invited to join Israel as the prophet had foreseen. Thus the creation of the messianic community is in perfect keeping with Isaianic expectations.

Matthew 4:15–17 is, therefore, the launching pad for understanding the entire rest of the story. The narrative proper can be summarized as Jesus' effort to shine Isaiah's end-of-exile light and draw people out of exile to himself. Those who respond to it, Jew and Gentile alike, join Jesus in his end-of-exile trek and by association constitute eschatological Israel at the end of the exile. I conclude that 4:12–16, therefore, is part and parcel of what 4:17 means; equally 4:12–16 is also a summary of the meaning of Jesus' preaching.¹² Thus the quotation of Isa 8:23–9:1 in Matt 4:15–16 and the narrative world it generates are determinative for sending the reader into the narrative proper as much as 4:17 is.¹³ This means *the arrival of "the kingdom of heaven" in 4:17 finds its definition in the content of the formula-quotation in 4:15–16.*

In summary, 4:12–17 is the bridge from 1:1–4:11 to the rest of Matthew's narrative. Matthew 4:12–13 concludes the prologue and the quotation of Isa 8:23–9:1 in 4:15–16 forms an inclusio with Isa 7:14 in Matt 1:23, enveloping the prologue in the narrative of Isaiah 7:1–9:6. Additionally, the link between Matt 4:12–16 and 4:17 tells the reader that in the ensuing narrative Jesus' preaching of the nearness of the kingdom of heaven is the rising of Isaiah's "great light." It is imperative, therefore, to hear the conversation between the evangelist and the prophet emerging from the generated narrative of Isa 8:23–9:6. What is Isaiah's "light?"

The Narrative Function of the Formula-Quotation in Matthew 4:14–16

For the seventh time in the prologue the evangelist uses a formula to make space for another intertextual conversation. As in 1:23, 2:15 and 2:18, Matthew uses the full formula at 4:14. In each case a narrator interjects to identify a specific OT prophet and uses a form of πληρόω.

12 So too Neiryck, "Rédaction," 56–58. Says France, "The dawning light is heralded in Jesus' proclamation, and the succeeding section of the gospel set in and around Galilee will be essentially one of light and hope" (*Matthew*, 139).

13 Weren says, "All these connections serve to indicate that the quotation from Isa 8:23b–9:1 contains the main lines of the entire gospel in a nutshell" ("Quotations," 464).

As with those other formulas, the narrator suspends the narration and interjects a commentary, causing the ensuing quotation to stand out in the discourse.¹⁴ This provides the reader with an extra-narrative voice and hermeneutical direction. This kind of direct communication to the reader selects a frame for interpretation, one more determinative than others because it is explicit.¹⁵ The effect is to take the reader into Isaiah's narrative world and bring that world back into Matthew. This is the generation and amplification of Isaiah's narrative world into Matthew's, whereby an intertextual conversation between the two emerges and each is interpreted with respect to the other. Having already heard Matthew's end of the conversation, it is to Isaiah 7–12 that the reader listens once again.

The Narrative of Isaiah 7:1–9:6 Revisited

Isaiah 8:23–9:1 is the beginning of an only slightly larger pericope, 8:23–9:6 [EB 9:1–7].¹⁶ In short, that pericope declares that those in exile will return to be Yahweh's people when the eschatological Davidide is born/enthroned. Though, narrowly speaking, the pericope Matthew generates is only 8:23–9:6, it is itself the conclusion to a larger narrative that begins in 7:1.¹⁷ Hence, understanding key narrative threads is imperative for grasping what it is that 8:23–9:6 concludes.

In chapter two of this work I argue in detail that the central theological concern of Isaiah 7:1–8:22 is the threat that Rezin and Pekah pose to the house of David (7:1–2, 5–6, 13). If these two aggressors succeed at installing their puppet

14 Miler also places the formula in the middle of a chiasm comprised of 4:12–15 (*Citations*, 86).

15 See Eco, *Role*, 21–22.

16 While debate exists over the date of origin and redaction of Isa 8:23–9:6 (particularly how 9:1–6 became attached to 8:23b–e), scholars nonetheless agree that in the final form this is a clearly demarked pericope. Specifically, most follow Albrecht Alt who considers 8:23b–e the prose bridge between 8:22/23a and the oracle of 9:1–6 (“Jesaja 8:23–9:6: Befreiungsnacht und Krönungstag,” in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel* [3 vols.; Munich: Beck'sche, 1953–1959], 2:206–25).

17 This is common among Isaiah scholars. Oswalt calls this “the climax of the section begun at 7:1,” and links it to 11:1–5 as well (*Isaiah*, 1:241, 246–47). Some commentators see it closing the unit that stretches back to 6:1 (e.g. Otto Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12* [trans. John Bowden; 5th ed.; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1981], 114; Motyer, *Isaiah*, 13–14; Goldingay, *Isaiah*, 58, 70).

On the relation to Isa 9:7–12:6 see Motyer, *Isaiah*, 24; Leclerc, *Yahweh is Exalted*, 69–70; Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 1:54–55, 192–94.

king (7:6), then Yahweh's covenant promises to the house of David will be jeopardized, if not entirely lost, which would also call into question the entire nation's covenantal status. If there is no Davidic king to rule over them, what becomes of Israel? Yahweh's solution is to give them a sign that illustrates that he is still for David, and therefore still *with* his covenant people: he promises the birth of a son named Immanuel—"God with us"—to vouchsafe the original covenant promise (7:14). That is, the Immanuel child is a sign of security to the house of David that reminds Ahaz's subjects of *their* covenant status before Yahweh. Thus, before the child is old enough to discern good from evil (7:15) the threatening kingdoms from the north will have been obliterated (7:1, 7-9, 15-16, 18-25; 8:4), by the coming Assyrian army no less (7:17-25). In Isaiah 8 the Immanuel son is born (8:3; cf. 8:8, 10) and before he is old enough to say "Mama" or "Dada" the threat is removed (8:4; cf. 7:15). Moreover, there is also a universal focus to 8:9-10; the entire world must respond to the house of David.¹⁸

The narrative continues in Isa 8:23 which sends it to its conclusion in 9:6.¹⁹ Isaiah 8:23-9:6 recasts the preceding vision into an eschatological ideal: the northern territories which were decimated by Assyria and taken into exile (8:23) will be restored and made glorious, exultant in joy (9:1-2). Their "yoke" of oppression will be removed as in the day the nation came out of Egypt (9:3) and peace will prevail throughout the land (9:4-6). All of this will come under the leadership of the Davidic king whose reign and authority will have no end (9:6).

Two specific points of this climactic vision arrest the reader's attention. (1) This is a prediction of the north's restoration from exile, symbolized as "light" along the "road/way" by the "sea," and the removal of the "yoke" of oppression. Though the north opposed David, and Yahweh brought Assyria against them, they will be restored in a re-united single covenant people under David's rule. Thus, (2) the covenantal status of Yahweh's people is inextricably bound to the fate of this eschatological Davidide.

First, 8:23 takes the narrative to a distant time beyond the events Isaiah has theretofore described.²⁰ The *immediate* future envisioned in 8:22 holds

18 See also Bartelt, *Book*, 116; Childs, *Isaiah*, 73.

19 For the full range of textual problems surrounding 8:23, see See J. A. Emerton, "Some Linguistic and Historical Problems in Isaiah VIII. 23," *JSS* 14 (1969): 151-75; C. F. Whitley, "The Language and Exegesis of Isaiah 8 16-23," *ZAW* 90 (1978): 34-41; Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 1:231 nn. 14-16.

20 Motyer is right: the perfect verbs are used to emphasize this future's certainty, though the event will not be immediate (*Isaiah*, 98-99; cf. also Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 1:242-43, 250).

only destruction for the northern territories, indeed distress, darkness, gloom and anguish. This is the defeat rendered by Assyria that Isa 7:17–25 foresees in response to 7:1, 5–6.²¹ This is their exile and, as the first to fall to Assyria, the beginning of successive waves of exile that will eventuate in everyone's deportation.²² *Targum Isaiah* makes it clear that this is an exile text, describing “the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali” as “hav[ing] gone into exile, and a strong king will exile what remains of them.”²³ Yet beginning in 8:23 the prophet sees beyond the exile to a day of restoration, regathering and reunion.²⁴ Though having initially rebelled against David, the northern tribes are not forgotten; Isaiah (like other prophets) sees both kingdoms constituting the people of God.²⁵ David had a right to rule over the north too; the promise of 2 Sam 7:12–13, 16 is that a son would rule over David's entire kingdom.²⁶ Thus Isa 7:1–9:6 foresees two things for the north: imminent defeat and exile as a consequence of their rebellion against the house of David, but also a distant restoration and reunion under the reign of the coming Davidide.²⁷ And

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- 21 The geography of 8:23 appears to be the Hebrew names of the Assyrian provinces set up by Tiglath-pileser III. See esp. Alt, “Jesaja,” 2:206–25; Yohanan Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography* (trans. A. F. Rainey; rev. and enl. ed.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1979), 46, 374; Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12*, 394–95.
 - 22 Pace Soares Prabhu, this is not just generic military defeat (*Formula*, 91; so too Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 1:239), but the beginning of the theological problem that is exile (see also Charette, *Recompense*, 49–51; Motyer, *Isaiah*, 99–100; Carter, “Evoking,” 515; Beaton, *Isaiah's Christ*, 103).
 - 23 Chilton, *Isaiah Targum*, 20. Johan Lust shows how this concern for exiles is given special attention in the LXX translation of 9:2–3 (“Messianism in the Septuagint: Isaiah 8:23b–9:6 [9:1–7],” in *The Interpretation of the Bible: The International Symposium in Slovenia* [ed. Jože Krašovec; JSOTSup 289; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998], 158–59, 161).
 - 24 Alt says this understanding of 8:23b–e is key to interpreting the rest of the oracle: when David ascends the northern exiles will return immediately (“Jesaja,” 213–14). As Soares Prabhu confidently asserts, “Originally, no doubt, this triumph referred to the return from the exile” (*Formula*, 91). See also Motyer, *Isaiah*, 87.
 - 25 See Gowan, *Prophetic Books*, 70.
 - 26 Indeed, Psalm 2 says even over the whole world. Motyer observes that 8:23 is the only place where Galilee is said to be “of the Gentiles” and concludes that “the Messiah is for the world” (*Isaiah*, 100).
 - 27 Motyer argues for a Solomonic motif running through the poem, most evident in 9:2 where Yahweh “causes to increase/make great the nation”—הַרְבֵּיתָ הַגּוֹי—and possibly in the “throne-names” of 9:5, particularly שֶׁר־שָׁלוֹם, “prince of peace” (ibid., 100–103). If this reading has weight, it strengthens the prediction of reunification, for Solomon was the only Son of David to reign over all the tribes. Moreover, see Evans for the *Tg. Isa.* 9:6's increased emphasis on David (*Matthew*, 89).

so, *the fate of the people depends, on both horizons, on their attitude toward the house of David.*

This end of exile is symbolized as *light* that dawns on the northern tribes.²⁸ In this context the light does not dawn on Judah, for in Isaiah 7–12's schema they had not been taken captive (yet). It should be remembered that the advancing Assyrian army spells *deliverance*—in Yahweh's strange sovereign design—for Judah. At this point in Isaiah's preaching it is the northern tribes that await the light of salvation.²⁹ Thus, *light* in Isa 9:1 is deliverance for those specifically *in exile* (cf. also Isa 42:16; 49:5–6; 58:8–12; 60:1–3).³⁰ It is not just generic salvation; it is more specific than that. "Light" is a multivalent metaphor in Isaiah, to be sure, but in 9:1 it symbolizes the end of the exile.³¹

The *road/way* that is *by the sea* is also an end of exile icon (8:23).³² Geographically this is most likely a road that ran along the Sea of Galilee and headed westward toward the Mediterranean Sea, such destination being the source of its name.³³ In its entirety, it most likely stretched from Egypt up along the Mediterranean and fanned out in the heart of the northern territory (in Megiddo, east of Dor) on its way to Mesopotamia, going through Assyrian-controlled Damascus.³⁴ But the concern here is not so much geographic specificity as the theological significance of the fact that *the covenant people*

28 So too Charette, *Recompense*, 49–51. Says Blomberg, "The light dawning on them in darkness and in the land of the shadow of death would thus refer initially to their return from exile" ("Matthew," 18).

29 Weren is right to point out that "the ambiguity of that text is straightened out by Matthew and solved in one particular direction" ("Quotations, 461); when Jesus goes to the north the light dawns. LXX Isa 8:23, however, suggests the opposite. That Matthew excludes τὰ μέρη τῆς Ἰουδαίας, however, suggests that the evangelist at least agreed with the MT reading if not himself having translated it against the LXX. See Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:73.

30 Darkness may be the language of creation reversal. Motyer suggests so much, linking the darkness to Gen 1:2–3 and saying, "The *burning* of military hardware . . . corresponds to [Isa] 2:2–4. There it became the tools of Edenic peace" (*Isaiah*, 100–101). Interestingly, in 42:5–7 light is clearly used in reference to creation *and* the end of the exile.

31 Even as "darkness" is also multivalent, but surely a symbol of exile in 9:1. See also 8:22; 42:6–7; 49:8–9.

32 Matthew's reader has already seen this in the evangelist's use of Isaiah 40–55 in ch. 3; see my seventh chapter.

33 So Z. Meshel, "Was There a 'Via Maris'?", *IEJ* 23 (1973): 162–64. Cf. also 1 Kgs 18:43; Ezek 41:12. The ambiguity in LXX Isa 8:23 as well as 1QIsa^a 9:1 demonstrate how indeterminate this phrase מִן הַיָּם הַיָּבֵיטָה was.

34 See Aharoni, *Land*, 44–54; Wayne T. Pitard, "Damascus," *ABD* 2:5–7. The Romans would later designate it the *Via Maris*, Latin for מִן הַיָּם הַיָּבֵיטָה, and probably not an actual road in the Roman period (Meshel, "Via Maris," 164–66).

traveled along this road into exile. The road is meaningful because it is the way by which Israel began its experience of exile. It potentially transported people from even further south than Joppa, traversing nearly the entire western coast of the northern kingdom, taking them to Assyria.³⁵ To say that the *הַיָּם הַזֶּה* is the place where *light* dawns (9:1) is to say that the path into exile is the same as that of the return. This becomes important end-of-exile/second exodus rhetoric in the rest of Isaiah, especially in the continuation of this larger block in 10:26 and 11:15. For the road/way, confer also Isa 40:3 (quoted in Matt 3:3); 42:16; 43:16; 48:17; 49:9, 11; for the sea, confer 10:26; 11:15; 43:16; 51:10–11, 15; 63:11–17.

Finally, the removal of the *yoke* (עֹל) is also an end-of-exile icon in that Deut 28:48 calls the exile a yoke (עֹל) of iron upon Israel. Is this enough evidence, however, for the reader to correctly infer that Isaiah's yoke is that of exile? An inferential walk through the cultural encyclopedia suggests that it is. The reader notes that this yoke is "the yoke of *their* burden" (אֶת־עֹל סִבָּלָה). The Hebrew word for burden in 9:3 (סִבָּלָה) is rendered variously across LXX Isaiah. In 9:3 it is rendered "that which is laid upon them" (ὁ ἐπ' αὐτῶν κείμενος). In 10:27 it is rendered "rear/terror" (φόβος). And in 14:25 the *hapax* κῦδος is used. The value to the reader in these observations is this: Isa 10:27 and 14:25 both speak specifically of the exile as a "yoke" (עֹל) and a "burden" (סִבָּלָה), the same nouns used in 9:3.³⁶ Moreover, in addition to the yoke and burden, Isa 10:26–27 also speaks of *the sea*, which I argue above is an end-of-exile icon as well. Indeed, Isa 10:20–27 is a clear prediction of the return of the remnant from exile in second exodus language. And, as with other return-from-exile prophecies in Isaiah, this one is also couched in the language of Israel's exodus. Thus in Isa 9:3 the yoke recalls Lev 26:13, the burdens Exod 1:11; 2:11; 5:4–5; 6:6–7, the shoulders Ps 81:7[80:7], and the oppressor Exod 3:7; 5:6, 10–14.³⁷ Therefore the removal of the "yoke" is a promise of a second exodus to end the exile.

It is clear to the reader, therefore, that Isa 8:23–9:6 is a prediction of the end of the exile, specifically for the north (who in the course of the Isaianic narrative is the only populace yet to be exiled) but also for any part of the covenant people who have been cast off. For, as far as the whole of Isaiah is concerned, the exile of the north is only the beginning (which Matthew's readership surely knows) of a complete exile that can only end when all of Yahweh's people

35 See Siegfried Mittmann and Götz Schmitt, eds., *Tübinger Bibelatlas* (trans. Keith Myrick; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2001), B IV 15.

36 LXX Isa 9:3 uses the word ζυγός, the same word in Matt 11:29–30.

37 Motyer, *Isaiah*, 101. Midian refers specifically to Gideon (Judg 6–8) who "was in particular the deliverer of Asher, Zebulun and Naphtali (Jdg. 6:35)" (ibid.).

are reunified.³⁸ Metaphors of “light” on the “road/way” by the “sea” and the removal of the “yoke” contribute to the imagery of this reading.

Second, the reader perceives again an inextricable link between the condition of the house of David and the covenantal status of Yahweh’s people. This is seen in the way a strong Davidic emphasis in the pericope is wed to ecclesiological concerns. Several elements evoke the OT’s Davidic theology: the dawning of a great light is reminiscent of 2 Sam 23:4; Pss 110:3; 118:24, 27; the people’s exultant joy of Pss. 118:15, 24; 132:9, 16 (cf. 1 Kgs 1:40); the defeat of enemies of Pss 2:2, 8–9; 72:4, 14; 89:23; 110:1, 5–6; 132:18; the burning fire of 2 Sam 23:7; Pss 21:9; 118:12; the gift of a divine son of Pss 2:7; 89:26–27 (cf. Ps 110:1); the proclamation of royal qualities of Pss 2:6–7; 21:5; 72:17; 89:27; 110:4; 2 Sam 23:3 (cf. 2 Sam 5:2); and, of course, the eternal royal continuance in peace and justice of Pss 2:8–9; 21:4; 61:6–7; 72:1–8, 17; 89:3–4, 28–29, 36–37; 132:11–12 (cf. 2 Sam 7:16).³⁹

Most notably, the son who is born in verse 5 inherits David’s throne in verse 6. Yet in the same breath, 9:5 says twice that this son will be born “for us” (לָנוּ). Thus the birth and reign of the eschatological Davide is ecclesologically formative.⁴⁰ He is born “for us” (לָנוּ). John N. Oswalt’s concluding remarks are helpful here:

Again, it becomes clear that Isaiah has an eschatological figure in mind. This person will not be a king among kings in Israel. Rather, he will be the final king, the king to end all kings. Thus the prophet envisions the ideal Davidic monarch. *God has not rejected his ancient promise to David. . . . There will be one who established the throne of David in a final way by basing it upon justice and righteousness instead of violence and coercion. In this way he will manifest the truth of “God with us.”*⁴¹

“God with us,” the covenant formula, will be realized when this Davidide arrives on the stage of redemptive-history.

38 In this sense, then, there is no theological distinction between north and south as far as the exile is concerned: if any part of Israel is in exile then the status of the covenant promises to David, that his sons will rule over all of Yahweh’s people, is in danger. Thus “exile” can be defined as the state of Yahweh’s people under the leadership of anyone other than a Son of David. This seems to be where Matthew is heading.

39 G. D. Kilpatrick, “The Book of Isaiah” (*Interpreter’s Bible* 5; New York: Abingdon, 1956) 232. See also Goldingay, *Isaiah*, 70–72.

40 Oswalt says both Immanuel and this son “directly express the relation between God and his people” (*Isaiah*, 1:241).

41 Ibid., 1:248; emphasis added. Similarly, Goldingay comments that vv. 5–6 “resemble promises to a king at his accession, and promises to his people, to whom such words are indeed good news” (*Isaiah*, 70; emphasis added).

To summarize, in Isa 8:23–9:6 the prophet conveys a vision of the end of the north's exile. The distress, darkness, gloom and anguish of the exile (8:22) will give way to the *light* of return, restoration and reunion as Yahweh lifts the *yoke* of exile and brings his people on a second exodus along the *road/way* by the *sea*. In so doing he will ultimately fulfill his Immanuel promise, to which Isaiah 7–8 points, when David is re-enthroned and all Israel enjoys the Messiah's eschatological reign. *This* is how David's subjects will know they are Yahweh's covenant people: the exile will end and David will reign. This is the narrative that Matt 4:15–16 generates, thereby selecting hermeneutically determinative frames through the resultant intertextual conversation. To this, the prologue's final intertextual conversation, we finally turn.

Matthew's Conversation with Isaiah

At Matt 4:14 the narrator suspends the narration and in 4:15–16 generates the Isaianic narrative with which the Matthean context converses.⁴² The result is to close off an inclusio with 1:23 where the first prologue-quotation generated the same Isaianic narrative, and to select determinative frames for reading. In the conversation between Matthew and Isaiah the reader understands that those in exile are now summoned to return at the behest of the new David.

Warren Carter is correct in two assertions: "Isaiah 7–9 is evoked for a second time in Matt 4:14–16 with a citation from Isa 8:23–9:1." And "Matthean scholars have generally not given the Isaian intertext any power."⁴³ This latter statement is true despite the great significance of the former. By returning, now at the end of the prologue, to the same intertextual conversation that began the prologue,

42 The quotation agrees with neither the MT nor the LXX. It is probably the evangelist's own translation. So Gundry, *Use*, 105–108; Soares Prabhu, *Formula*, 95–104; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:380–86; Miler, *Citations*, 81–82. But see also Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:73; Lust, "Messianism," 156; Menken, "Textual Form," 15–33. Several conclude that it is indiscernible what text Matthew is here using (Stendahl, *School*, 104–106; Rothfuchs, *Erfüllungszitate*, 67–70; Beaton, *Isaiah's Christ*, 97–102, 110; McConnell, *Law*, 117–20; Weren, "Quotations," 458–59). Rothfuchs does suggest that Matthew's use of Isa 8:23–9:1 may be influenced by Isa 42:7 and/or Ps 107:10 (*Erfüllungszitate*, 69). It seems impossible to know for sure, but it is interesting that in both Isa 42:7 and Ps 107:10 the "darkness" is that of exile as it is in Isa 8:23. In Ps 107:7 it is even said that Yahweh leads the people יְשִׁרָהּ בְּדֶרֶךְ / εἰς ὁδὸν εὐθείαν in this restoration (see also Isa 42:16). See also Gnlika for the possible influence of Num 24:17, potentially already evoked in 2:2 (*Matthäusevangelium*, 1:96–97).

43 Carter, "Evoking," 513.

the evangelist has created an Isaianic inclusio.⁴⁴ Isaiah 7–9, therefore, deserves special attention in interpreting Matthew 1–4.

It could not be more wrong, therefore, to say, “The original context is quite ignored.”⁴⁵ That the evangelist has already employed the context at least once (Matt 1:23)—and most likely twice (Matt 2:23)—shows this.⁴⁶ To be precise, the author has generated the *beginning* of this specific Isaianic narrative (7:14) *at the beginning* of his prologue (1:23), and the *end/climax* of the Isaianic narrative (8:23–9:1) *at the end/climax* of his prologue (4:15–16)! He knows the context and he uses it—often returning to it—and it could not be more plain to the reader that the Isaianic context of both quotes are important for interpretation.⁴⁷

What, then, does Isa 8:23–9:6, specifically contribute at Matt 4:12–17? In the conversation between Matthew and Isaiah the reader understands that those in exile are now summoned to return at the beck of the new David. Matthew 1:1–4:11 says all are in exile and only Jesus has come out. He is the eschatological Davidide and the true Israelite who has already gone on his (second) exodus. Now begins the new David’s mission: gather others—Jews and Gentiles—to join him in encompassing the remnant of OT Israel. Those who respond will become Yahweh’s end-of-exile covenant people. Those who do not will face the judgment reserved for those who oppose Yahweh’s plans through David. This is seen particularly in four elements of the quotation: (1) the geography, (2) the “light,” (3) the focus on “the people” and (4) a definition of “the kingdom of heaven.”

First, in his *Commentary on Isaiah*, Jerome is also occupied with the geography. He writes:

Of old these two tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali were taken captive by Assyrians and were led away into a strange country, and Galilee was deserted; but as the prophet said, they should be relieved by [Christ]. . . . The remnant who dwelt beyond the Jordan and in Samaria, were likewise led away into captivity. . . . That same land should be the first to see the light of the preaching of Christ.”⁴⁸

44 Thus Isaiah 7–12 exerts a *primacy and recency effect* on reading the prologue, and selects frames for reading the narrative proper (similarly Carter, “Evoking,” 507; Blomberg, “Matthew,” 18).

45 Edgar, “Respect,” 58; so too Stendahl, *School*, 104.

46 Similarly Gnllka, *Matthäusevangelium*, 1:94.

47 Miler is also right that the reader should know the Isaianic context of Isa 8:23–9:1 insofar as the recent birth of the Messiah (Matt 2:1) is reminiscent of Isa 9:5 (*Citations*, 95–96).

48 Jerome, *Commentaria in Isaiam prophetam* (PL 24.127); translation by Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:381.

Responding to this interpretation, Davies and Allison state:

It is possible that Matthew held a similar view. Zebulun and Naphtali were two of the first tribes to go into exile (2 Kgs 15:29), and it would be appropriate for the kingdom to be restored first where it was initially dissolved. For support, one could observe that our quotation is followed by an announcement of the advent of the kingdom of God.⁴⁹

They conclude, however, that “on the other hand, Matthew has omitted the words from Isa 9:1–2 that would foster this interpretation.”⁵⁰ They contend that “Matthew has omitted as irrelevant for his purposes several words . . . intent on [merely] geographic concerns” whereby “all else is dropped.”⁵¹ Jerome’s reading is still to be preferred, nonetheless, for two reasons. First, it is not true that beyond the geography “all else is dropped.”⁵² Matthew still mentions extra-geographical components of Isaiah’s preaching: the “road/way,” the “sea,” the Gentiles, the “darkness” and the “light.” With an economical use of words Matthew’s *intentio operis* stretches beyond the geography to include theological icons of the restoration: those in the darkness of exile—Jew and Gentile—see the beacon that signals to them to travel along the end-of-exile “road/way by the sea.”⁵³

Moreover, the frames the narrative has selected so far, particularly the «end-of-exile» frame, encourage this reading. All of the previous formula-quotations are concerned with the theological problem that is exile. The geography of Matt 4:12–13, 15 is, therefore, important because in Isaiah those are the lands in which the exile began.⁵⁴ Joachim Gnilka also argues that the connection is only with the preceding geography and “nicht mit der Proklamation der Himmelsherrschaft” because “hierfür hätte sich wohl in Zitat finden lassen.”⁵⁵ However that may be, I disagree with Gnilka’s exegetical method. What matters is not what Matthew *could* have done, but what he *did* do; indeed what the text

49 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:382.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 Even if this were the case, the inclusion of Zebulun and Naphtali may just be enough. As Senior avers, “The remembrance of the lost tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali evokes Israel’s hopes for restoration and renewal in the end time” (*Matthew*, 63).

53 Beaton agrees that geography alone cannot account for Matthew’s concerns because Isa 9:1 is included in the quotation (*Isaiah’s Christ*, 102, 105–106).

54 Pace Strecker (*Weg*, 65–66) and Rothfuchs (*Erfüllungszitate*, 68) who contend that the geography—and not the content of Jesus’ preaching—is here in view. It is both; the geography provides the theological frame for the preaching.

55 Gnilka, *Matthäusevangelium*, 1:96.

does. And given the consistent «end-of-exile» frame and narrational development to this point, Isa 8:23–9:1 is the perfect text for Matthew. For it tells the reader that Jesus' ensuing preaching is Isaiah's second-exodus "light" shining into the darkness of exile—exactly what the reader expects given the inter-textual conversations so far.⁵⁶ This quotation is, therefore, as much about the message Jesus is ready to preach as it is about his geographic location.

Thus, Matt 4:12–16 is no "attempt to make an asset out of a liability."⁵⁷ And it is slightly myopic to say, "Matthew makes of Galilee a good simply because of its firm place in the tradition and the need, spurred by Jewish calumny, to find for it scriptural support."⁵⁸ It is a redemptive-historical proclamation of the end of the exile; indeed, according to Isa 8:23–9:1, a prophetic *necessity* for the exile to end. Thus, the point of "Galilee of the Gentiles" is to foreshadow the movement toward universal salvation.⁵⁹ Says Luz:

Under the future perspective of salvation which will come to the Gentiles, and precisely in that regard in agreement with God's plan [seen in the quotation], in v. 17 Jesus begins his proclamation to Israel. Thus Matthew wants to call attention to a perspective that is true for Jesus' entire activity in Israelite Galilee. . . . It is important for Matthew that the salvation for the Gentiles is a biblical, prophetic perspective.⁶⁰

I agree that the quotation in 4:15–16 and the summary of Jesus' preaching in 4:17 are linked. I also agree that this pericope shows the direction the narrative will take.⁶¹ What is lacking in this interpretation, however, is the larger prophetic vision for *why salvation should move to the Gentiles*. According to Isaiah such movement is part and parcel of the end of the exile. The Gentiles *must* be

56 Carson also suggests that the term "beyond the Jordan" preserves its Isaianic meaning and asks "is there a further reference to the 'exile' now ended by Messiah's coming (see on 2:17–18)?" (*Matthew*, 118). Yes.

57 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:379.

58 Ibid., 1:380; similarly see also Lindars, *New Testament*, 196–99.

59 Gnailka, *Matthäusevangelium*, 1:97–98; Keener, *Matthew*, 146–47; Luz, *Matthew*, 1:158; Konradt, *Israel*, 274–76.

60 Luz, *Matthew*, 1:158. While Nolland is right that "the images of the text come from the eighth-century experience of devastation in the northern kingdom," it is not at all clear that "in such a context the value of the Gentiles can only be negative" (*Matthew*, 173). It is not even negative in Isa 8:23.

61 See also Carson, *Matthew*, 117; France, *Matthew*, 143.

saved *because* the exile is ending.⁶² Indeed, “Galilee of the Gentiles” contributes to this Matthean emphasis because Isaiah foresees Gentiles joining Israel *at the end of the exile*.⁶³

As for the ὁδὸν θαλάσσης, geographically this is the road toward the Mediterranean Sea which ran along northwest shore of Sea of Galilee (past Capernaum).⁶⁴ But the point is not so much what the precise geographic road/way or sea might be, but the theological import of such activities on a road/way by a sea. In other words, Matthew is not so concerned with precise geographical details as with the redemptive-historical significance of the geography: in Isaianic perspective, the exile will end as Yahweh travels along the road/way along the sea.

Taken together, these geographical considerations in 4:12–13, 15 evoke images of the exile and its end. Zebulun and Naphtali were the first regions to go into exile, and the road/way by the sea (that runs through Capernaum) is the path Yahweh will take to bring them back. All this will happen in Galilee *of the Gentiles* because the entire world is invited to join Israel at the end of the exile. Thus, the geographic references select an «end-of-exile» frame for understanding the significance of Jesus' work in Galilee.

Second, the reader takes particular notice of the light/darkness metaphor, given how “remarkable is the prominent, initial position of φῶς in Mt 4:16a, contrary to both the Hebrew text and the LXX.”⁶⁵ Yet merely taking note is not enough insofar as light-darkness is one of the most common religious dualisms; the reader, therefore, needs direction on how to interpret it beyond vague

62 Kondrat is strong on this point that the inclusion of Gentiles is the *necessary telos* of Jesus' mission *to Israel*. He writes, “4.15–16 [articulates] that the ministry of salvation to Israel is the first step on the path that will, at the same time, bring salvation to the (other) nations. For Matthew's theological approach, it is significant here that he is able to support this comprehensive soteriological horizon of Jesus' mission with a scriptural citation . . . as the realization of that which Abraham's election and God's history with Israel were aimed at from the very beginning” (*Israel*, 276).

63 Carter's explanation that this phrase “indicates Galilee's occupied status” (“Evoking,” 517) does not help because the reader knows that *everything* is occupied by the Romans. Galilee is not special in that respect. It is special because according to Isaiah it was the *first* to be occupied, starting the nation's exile. It must, therefore, be the first to experience the end of the exile.

64 France, *Matthew*, 142. It is doubtful that the “sea” here is specifically the Mediterranean (Nolland, *Matthew*, 172–73; *pace* Hagner, *Matthew*, 73).

65 Weren, “Quotations,” 459; so too Gundry, *Use*, 107.

generalities.⁶⁶ While several interpretations have been offered, Isaiah's voice in the intertextual conversation should be given its full weight.⁶⁷ Without such deference to the prophet it is premature to conclude that "the darkness is to [Matthew] spiritual and moral."⁶⁸ To be sure, such may be the most common use of this duality in the NT.⁶⁹ But, *pace* Davies and Allison, the whole of the NT may not be "our best guide as to what Matthew thought by Galilee sitting in darkness."⁷⁰ The best guide is Matthew's interlocutor: Isaiah.⁷¹ The Model Reader will hear the voice that Matthew generates through the formula-quotation; Isaiah's is the narrative world in conversation with Matthew's and

66 Nolland recognizes that the light/darkness metaphor "belongs to the imagery of the eighth-century collapse" (*Matthew*, 174). I disagree, however, that the image is open-ended and that readers "supply from imagination specifics that come from their own awareness of the needs of their situation" (*ibid.*, n. 12). Rather, the text selects frames from the cultural encyclopedia thereby *limiting* the Model Reader's "imagination."

67 With the exception of Charette (*Recompense*, 73–74), attention to the meaning of "light" and "darkness" in Isa 8:23–9:6 does not seem, surprisingly, to be of much concern for most Matthean scholars. As a result there is a great divergence of opinions. Stendahl says the light represents Jesus as the revealer/revelation (*School*, 117, 141–42; see also New, *Old Testament Quotations*, 103). Maybe so (though this seems to be more John's use of the light metaphor; cf. John 1:5, 9, 18), but Matthew seems to be more specific than that, intending the reader to discern also *what* is revealed. See Otto Michel for the rabbinic tradition where the light is simply a metaphor for the arrival of the Messiah ("Das Licht des Messias," in *Donum Gentilicum: New Testament Studies in Honour of David Daube* [eds. E. Bammel, C. K. Barrett and W. D. Davies; Oxford: Clarendon, 1978], 140–50). But again, Matthew is saying something more specific. Carson calls the darkness the absence of "the religious and cultic advantages of Jerusalem and Judea" (*Matthew*, 117). It is hard, however, given Matthew's view of the cultic leaders in Jerusalem and Judea, to see how the reader might conclude that living there could be any kind of "advantage." Beaton concludes, based on Matthew's use of ἀνατέλλω, reminiscent of LXX Num 24:17; Jer 23:5; Mal 3:20; Zech 3:8; 6:12, that "Matthew had in mind the arrival of the messianic age and its concomitant blessing" (*Isaiah's Christ*, 109–10). He does not offer, however, what that "concomitant blessing" is. Nor does he give sufficient attention to the context of Isaiah 8:23–9:6 where it can be learned. Carter, as expected, says darkness is "imperial aggression" ("Evoking," 517). But *imperialism* is not the concern of the one supplying the metaphor: Isaiah. To the prophet, darkness is exile as a theological problem (not generic imperialism). Carter even concedes this when he says "darkness symbolizes various realities," then gives Isa 8:22–9:2 as an example of where darkness symbolizes the reality of exile. It seems this observation should weigh heavily on interpreting Matt 4:15–16.

68 So Edgar, "Respect," 58.

69 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:385; see also Beaton, *Isaiah's Christ*, 108.

70 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:385.

71 So too Charette, *Recompense*, 74.

contributes to the selection of the most determinative frames. In this case, therefore, the darkness is that of *exile* and the light is that of *return*.⁷²

Thus from these two observations—the geography of where Jesus is starting his campaign and the identification of his preaching as “light”—the reader observes that this is the beginning of the end-of-exile summons to come join Jesus in constituting Yahweh’s eschatological people.

Third, turning now to the “people” of Matt 4:16, the reader observes that this is the fourth time ὁ λαός are mentioned (also 1:21; 2:4, 6), yet is unaware of who exactly comprises this category.⁷³ It has been an open, even ambiguous, group so far in Matthew; it means neither Israel nor the ecclesia per se.⁷⁴ Yet in this intertextual conversation the ambiguity is cleared and the category defined. Because the quote sits in context with 4:18–25 the reader perceives that “the people” are anyone who will respond positively to Jesus. They obey Jesus’ command (δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου) in 4:19, and they follow (ἠκολούθησαν) in 4:20, 22, 25. Isaiah 8:22–9:1, in turn, provides the redemptive-historical frame for theologically understanding “the people”: they are those in the darkness of exile and on whom the light is now shining. Thus in Matthew, Jesus’ people are those on whom the end-of-exile light (Jesus’ preaching) shines, and who in turn follow Jesus’ preaching. In so doing they join him on the end-of-exile ὁδὸν θαλάσσης. Thus, the reader finally receives resolution to an evolving piece of tension since 1:21.⁷⁵ The “people” are those who, by virtue of responding positively to Jesus’ preaching, come out of exile with him and constitute David’s eschatological subjects. This is how he “saves” them.⁷⁶

72 So too *ibid.*, 73–75. While Beaton does not ultimately come down here, he does suggest so much: “Through exposure to texts such as Ps. 107.10–11, in which rebellion against God is the cause of the state of darkness, an informed reader, one could argue, might think of the spiritual condition of Israel; or they might possibly recall the darkness and blindness in Isa. 42.7, which is more akin to political exile” (*Isaiah’s Christ*, 108).

73 Moreover, αὐτοῖς is redundant in 4:16 by virtue of the dative τοῖς καθημένοις (Carson, *Matthew*, 118). This makes it emphatic, highlighting Matthew’s ecclesiological concerns. On *them* does the great light dawn.

74 See my second and third chapters.

75 Miler is right that Matthew has so far left ὁ λαός indeterminate, but wrong that this is still the case (*Citations*, 85–88). It is Jew and Gentile, whoever responds to Jesus’ preaching. Part of Miler’s argument is that Matthew’s use of Isaiah opens up the indeterminacy: “Il ouvre donc au lecteur la possibilité d’un horizon qui dépasse les limites d’Israël” (*ibid.*, 87). While that may be, it also *limits* the bounds of the “people,” only not along ethnic lines but in accordance with people’s reaction to Jesus.

76 See also Piotrowski, “I Will Save.”

So while all Israel sits in darkness, only Jesus' followers can be said to "see a great light." This includes Gentiles who are also invited to see and respond to the light.⁷⁷ This is evident from Matt 4:23–25 where people come to "follow" Jesus from Jerusalem and Judea *and* from all over Galilee (*of the Gentiles*), Syria, the Decapolis, and beyond the Jordan. So while the light shines for Israel, it does so in "Galilee *of the Gentiles*." As Gnllka puts it, "Das Licht, das mit Jesus zunächst dem jüdischen Volk aufstrahlte, ist für die Welt bestimmt."⁷⁸ This fits precisely with the expectations produced by the previous intertextual conversation (Isa 40:3 in Matt 3:3). There Isaiah's voice selected an «end-of-exile» frame defined, in part, as an opportunity for Gentiles to join the covenant people when Yahweh walks along the second-exodus road, calling out to them. Thus Jesus' mission to both Jew and Gentile is forecasted in this final prologue-quotations that emphasizes Jesus' preaching.⁷⁹

Finally, Matthew's use of Isa 8:23–9:1 provides further definition for the meaning of "the kingdom of heaven." In the previous chapter I argued that the use of Isa 40:3 in Matt 3:3 defines the arrival of the kingdom (Matt 3:2) as Yahweh's activity of calling his remnant out of exile to constitute his eschatological people. Here in 4:17 this definition is reinforced with a separate—though related—part of Isaiah.⁸⁰ Once again, the relationship between the announcement of the kingdom (4:17) and the prominent hermeneutically determinative formula-quotations (4:12–16) creates a strong lexicographically significant impulse: *the nearness of the kingdom of heaven is the obverse of exile*. As the former proceeds, the latter recedes. And more specifically, it is Yahweh's activity of re-enthroning David to rule over his end-of-exile kingdom, comprised of Jews and Gentiles responding to the summons, the preaching of Jesus henceforth.⁸¹

It seems, then, that Jerome read this intertext very well: what the Assyrians wrought is only reversed by the Christ. It is the *theological consequence of what the Assyrian exile meant* that affects the Matthean context, not specific

77 So too Konrad, *Israel*, 275.

78 Gnllka, *Matthäusevangelium*, 1:98.

79 Pace Luz, who says *λαός* always means Israel in Matthew (*Matthew*, 1:159), I agree more with Frankemölle when he says, commenting specifically on 4:23–25, "Damit ist auch der *λαός*-Begriff in 4,16 gekennzeichnet. Er meint nicht Israel als national-religiöse Größe. Vielmehr: 'das Volk, das in Finsternis saß und ein großes Licht sah', ist vom Kontext her die Heidenwelt" (*Jahwebund*, 199–202; quote from p. 201).

80 So too Nolland, *Matthew*, 174–75.

81 This reading fits well with, and fills out, Pennington's argument that the arrival of the βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν marks the eschatological resolution of human-divine conflict (*Heaven and Earth*, esp. 310–323).

armies or leaders. In other words, it is not *Assyria* (or Rome) that the Christ must rebuff, but the covenantal condition that they wrought. Thinking on the theological level, Matthew's use of Isaiah is quite contextual: Israel is still in exile and will be until the heir to David's throne arrives. So says Isa 8:23–9:6; so says all of Matt 1:1–4:17. It fits beautifully. Isaiah's geography and "light" are significant because they are the occasion for exile and means of return. Matthew focuses specifically on the effect this has on defining who Jesus' "people" are. They follow him when he calls them through his preaching of the nearness of the kingdom of heaven, and thereby constitute the redemptive-historical continuation of Yahweh's covenant "people."

Summary and Conclusion

Matthew concludes the prologue with the seventh formula-quotation that suspends the narration and interjects a final commentary. In so doing the same Isaianic narrative is generated at the end of the prologue as the one that had opened it. Thus the entirety of Matthew's prologue is enveloped by Isaiah 7–9. There David's house is preserved and its enemies are cast into exile. But the final horizon of Isaiah's vision includes a restoration and reunion for Yahweh's exiled people at the hands of David's final son. That horizon is what Matthew claims is "fulfilled" in 4:14–16. Specifically, by generating Isa 8:23–9:6, the intertextual conversation between the prophet and the evangelist instructs the reader on the meaning of the geography in 4:12–13, 15 as well as the "great light" on the "road/way" by the "sea." These are all icons of the end of the exile. Matthew 4:17—the announcement of the nearness of "the kingdom of heaven"—is, then, the beginning of Jesus' call to Jew and Gentile alike to join him in comprising Yahweh's eschatological end-of-exile people in covenantal continuation with OT Israel. Insofar as the lone remnant has already gone on his own second exodus (3:1–4:11), 4:17 redirects the narrative to where this Israel of one is now ready to grow. Those who respond favorably to Jesus' preaching and follow him are the ones on whom Isaiah's "great light," the end-of-exile beacon, rises. Thus they become Yahweh's "people" under the reign of the eschatological heir to David's throne.⁸²

82 Carter's reading is insufficient, therefore; he argues that Rome in Matthew is analogous to Assyria in Isaiah, the point of contact being an anti-imperial agenda ("Evoking," 507–20). I argue in chapter two and in this chapter, however, that Isaiah's concern in chs. 7–9 is with the covenantal status of Yahweh's people vis-à-vis the state of David's house. The problem in Isaiah is not imperialism qua imperialism. Rather, the imperial advance of

This lines up well with the findings of the previous chapters insofar as the first six prologue-quotations help set the narrative in a time of exile. But equally, each pericope envisions the end of this theological and covenantal dilemma coming ever closer and closer. Specifically, the identical wording of Matt 3:2 is found in Matt 4:17. In the former, John issues the end-of-exile summons. Only Jesus responds (3:13–15). He alone is Israel coming out of exile (3:16–4:11). Yet judging by Matt 3:3 and 3:11–12, Yahweh himself is expected to arrive. Thus the reader perceives in Jesus the lone remnant of Israel as well as the embodiment of Israel's covenant God. In 4:17, Jesus then takes over this end-of-exile summons as the divine eschatological Davidide calling others to join him in his return-from-exile trek to re-create the covenant people. In short, the theology of Isaiah 40–55 (summarized in 3:2 and 4:17) and the theology of Isaiah 7–12 (summarized only in 4:17) provide the hermeneutical direction for

Assyria is only a problem insofar as it threatens David's house. But in Isaiah 7–9 Assyria is Yahweh's means of *salvation* for David. Assyria *preserves* David's throne from being usurped by Pekah and Rezin. The problem for Matthew, therefore, is not imperial occupation any more than it is for Isaiah. While I affirm Carter's attention to the two intertexts from the same Isaianic context and their unique primacy effect on Matthew, I have to demur his anti-imperial reading. While the historic author surely had no lost love for Rome, his greater concern—evinced both in Isaiah and the rest of Matthew itself—is with the reestablishment of David's dynasty through Jesus. To be sure, King Jesus challenges all other would-be imperial competitors. But it is not enough to stop there, for “liberation from imperial control” (ibid., 519) is something Matthew's Jesus never promises. Nor does “Jesus' presence in Galilee [promise] liberation from Rome's rule” (ibid., 518). Jesus' salvation must be from something that *relativizes* Rome. It must be something that can coexist with the reality of Roman historical occupation. The “alternative community that acknowledges and anticipates God's reign” (ibid., 519) still has to live within Roman control. (It is also worth pointing out that by the end of the narrative, it is Jerusalem[!] not Rome that will be destroyed [Matthew 24].) What image, then, can capture the idea of genuine liberation that still lives in the historical world dominated by Rome? Only a liberation from “exile,” defined in the covenantal terms of the OT, is theologically multi-dimensional enough to capture this. The people are liberated, not from Rome, but from their sins (cf. 1:21), which originally sent them and the house of David into exile. In fact, to Matthew the Roman empire is an occasion to give expression to larger redemptive-historical and covenantal concerns: Rome is a *symptom* of exile, not the disease in and of itself.

This reading also avoids “a shift from literal destruction and political plight to moral and spiritual darkness” (Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1: 380) which Carter rightly critiques (“Evoking,” 518). No shift is necessary if Isaiah 7–9 is correctly read: both the prophet and the evangelist have *covenantal* concerns with the status of David's house. In Isaiah the security of the covenant is jeopardized because of the threat of Pekah and Rezin; in Matthew the state of the covenant is called into question because the Davidic throne has been vacant for centuries.

reading the narrative that 4:17 summarizes: 4:18–28:20. Consistently, therefore, the prologue has selected an «end-of-exile» frame that the reader employs in interpreting the rest of the story. Matthew 4:12–16 looks back in the narrative to gather up the themes that have reoccurred to select this frame, and 4:17 looks forward to send the reader into the narrative proper to employ the frame.⁸³

Davies and Allison are right that “the Messiah’s work for the Gentiles has heretofore only been foreshadowed.”⁸⁴ But we can go further: the Messiah’s work *for Israel* has heretofore only been foreshadowed. With Jesus’ preaching following right on the heels of this last prologue-quotation, the reader observes a significant development in the narrative. The king has returned and the lone Israelite has completed *his* return from exile. *Henceforth he is calling others to join him on the end-of-exile road/way by the sea, his teaching being the light of the end of the exile. Whoever responds are those who see the light, who come out of exile and comprise “his people” of 1:21.*

The Lord by the Sea (Matthew 4:18; 8:24, 32; 13:1; 14:25; 15:29)

Even though the same general frame is selected and reinforced with this formula-quotation, it does supply a few additional icons that are hermeneutically fruitful for the rest of Matthew. Two are worth mentioning at this point. The first one is obvious: “the sea.” Much of Jesus’ Galilean activity, before he turns to Jerusalem in 16:21, is done by or even on “the sea.”⁸⁵ Similarly, references to boats retain this setting without explicitly mentioning the sea.⁸⁶ There is, in fact, no reason to envision much of anything in 4:18–16:12 happening anywhere other than by the sea or on a mountain.⁸⁷ To be sure, Jesus is said explicitly to travel throughout Galilee’s cities and villages (cf. 4:23; 9:35; 11:1), but these comments are made in summary sections. The setting of the actually narrated events is by the sea and on a mountain. Again, to be sure, the twelve

83 As Senior puts it, “The summary of Jesus’ ministry that follows (4:23–25) and the whole narrative of the Gospel will illustrate the meaning of [4:12–17]” (*Matthew*, 63).

84 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:383.

85 The sea is where he calls his first disciples (4:18), where he performs many miracles (8:23–27, 32; 14:22–33; 15:29–31), where he delivers his parables (13:1), and is even used in one of the parables (13:47). After 16:21 it is spoken of by Jesus (17:27; 18:6; 21:21; 23:15) but no longer used as a narrational setting.

86 Cf. esp. 9:1 and the ensuing healing of the paralytic, 14:13 and the ensuing feeding of the 5,000, and 15:39 and the preceding feeding of the 4,000. Phrases like “the other side” (8:18; 16:5) and “crossed over” (14:34) have the same effect.

87 Capernaum, the explicit setting of 8:5–17, is also located by the sea. Even Tyre and Sidon (15:21) are by a sea, albeit a different one than the typical setting, the Sea of Galilee. For mountain settings see 5:1 and 15:29, the latter of which is also “by the sea.”

are instructed to go to the towns of Israel in 10:5, 23. But the narration of their ventures is withheld. The reader has merely the account of Jesus' instructions, which presumably also occurs by the sea, 9:1 being the last explicit geographic reference.⁸⁸ And when Jesus concludes these instructions and Matthew summarizes Jesus' next actions (11:1), the reader again has no indication where Jesus is when he talks with John's disciples (11:2–6) and when he again addresses the crowds (11:7–24). Even the grain fields of 12:1–8 and the synagogue of 12:9–14 can easily be envisioned by the sea. Thus, when Matthew narrates events he does not explicitly inform the reader where Jesus is except *when he is by the sea or on a mountain*. Otherwise the reader is told only vaguely that Jesus moves on “from there” (9:9, 27; 12:15). The point is that nearly the entire scope of the narrative block from 4:18–16:12 takes place “by the sea”—from the beginning of Jesus' public ministry (4:17) through to his arrival in Caesarea Philippi (16:13) where Peter confesses him as the Christ (16:16), at which point the narrative takes its turn to Jerusalem (16:21).⁸⁹ Thus, all of Jesus' activities between the two major narrative seams, 4:17 and 16:21, are framed by Isaiah's end-of-exile imagery, evoked by the “sea” icon. His ministry there is no less than the shining of Isa 8:23's end-of-exile light on the הַיָּם הַיָּדָיִם, the way by the sea.

The Rest of the Story (Matthew 11:28–30)

The second icon is less common in Matthew, but quite determinative where it does appear in a *crux interpretum*. It is the icon of “the yoke/the burden” that appears in Jesus' summons at 11:28–30. There Jesus calls out to those who have been loaded with a burden (πεφορτισμένοι) and promises them rest if they will take his yoke (ἄρατε τὸν ζυγόν μου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς) in the form of learning from him (καὶ μάθετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ). In so doing they will find that his yoke is benevolent/easy/gentle (ὁ γὰρ ζυγός μου χρηστός) and his burden is light (καὶ τὸ φορτίον μου ἐλαφρόν ἐστιν). With the use of these two metaphors, the burden (φορτίζω/φορτίον) and the yoke (ζυγός), Isaiah 9's «end-of-exile» frame is evoked.⁹⁰ I argue

88 Even if the events of 9:9–34 are not to be imagined by the sea, it is striking nonetheless that the author does not inform the reader of the specific location, whereas when Jesus is by the sea it is explicit.

89 See my conclusion to chapter five.

90 Similarly, Blaine Charette, “To Proclaim Liberty to the Captives: Matthew 11.28–30 in the Light of OT Prophetic Expectation,” *NTS* 38 (1992): 293, 295.

Though scholars commonly see in Matt 11:28–30 an allusion to Sir 51:23–30 (cf. also Sir 6:18–31; see esp. M. Jack Suggs, *Wisdom, Christology, and Law in Matthew's Gospel* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970], 99–106; Celia Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom and the Easy Yoke: Wisdom, Torah and Discipleship in Matthew 11.25–30* [JSNTSup 18; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987], 114–18, 130–39; Hagner, *Matthew* 1:321, 323; Luz, *Matthew*, 2:171–72;

above that the “yoke of their burden” in Isa 9:3 (יֹכֶל עֲלֵי סִבְלָם) is a second exodus/end-of-exile image in the tradition of Exod 1:11; 2:11; 3:7; 5:4–6, 10–14; 6:6–7; Lev 26:13; Deut 28:48; Ps 81:7 [80:7]; Isa 10:26–27; 14:25.⁹¹ Thus, when the image is employed in Matt 11:28–30 it becomes an icon that informs the reader to employ the pre-selected «end-of-exile» frame. Isaiah’s vision of restoration, therefore, colors Jesus’ invitation. *The meaning, then, of taking Jesus’ easy yoke and light burden is to throw off the oppressive yoke and heavy burden of exile.*⁹² As argued above, furthermore, it seems to be the Jewish leaders who are holding the people in this exile, for in 23:4 Jesus says explicitly that they bind the people with “heavy burdens” (φορτία βαρέα).⁹³ Moreover, these heavy burdens

Ben Witherington III, *Matthew* [SHBC; Macon, Ga.: Smyth & Helwys, 2006], 237–40), Laansma has shown the weakness of their case (*Rest*, 196–208; see also Marshall D. Johnson, “Reflections on a Wisdom Approach to Matthew’s Christology,” *CBQ* 36 [1974]: 59–61; Stanton, *Gospel*, 366–71; Gundry, *Matthew*, 219–20; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:292–93). Laansma points out that forms of ψυχή are so syntactically different that the commonality is coincidental and that πρὸς με hardly warrants consideration as a parallel (*Rest*, 196). More damaging to the thesis, however, is that the uses of κοιμάω are conceptually *opposites*. “In Matthew the ‘laborers’ are those offered rest, while in Sirach ‘laboring’ (after Wisdom/wisdom) is what we are called to in order to attain rest in the end” (*ibid.*, 197). This suggests that if there is any relation between Sir 51:23–30 and Matt 11:28–30 then the latter may well be *subverting* the former (*ibid.*, 199). Along this same line, I would add to the refutation that it is exactly the *wise* from whom “these things” are hidden in v. 25. Does it not seem odd to equate Jesus with Wisdom (vv. 28–30)—who is to be learned from (v. 29) to achieve the rest in question (v. 28)—just after relativizing the value of wisdom (v. 25)? The only parallels that remain, then, are ζυγός and ἀναπαύω. The former, however, was such a common metaphor in Matthew’s day that it can represent any number of concepts (*ibid.*, 197). A *frame* is therefore needed to direct the reader in decoding it. That is provided by Isaiah 9.

See Davies and Allison on an Exod 33:12–14 background (*Matthew*, 2:283–89, 296–97; followed by several).

91 See also Charette, “Proclaim,” 291–93; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:291 n. 247; Laansma, *Rest*, 243. While LXX Exodus does not use φορτίον, ζυγός is used in LXX Isa 9:3; 10:27; 14:25. Moreover, seeing the various ways the LXX translates סִבְלָא (“burden”) helps the Matthean reader interpret 11:29–30 in terms of both Isa 9:3 and Deut 28:48 even though the latter uses κλοιός to speak of the yoke of exile.

92 Charette’s discussion is also insightful (“Proclaim,” 290–97).

93 On the connection between 11:28–30 and 23:4 see Strecker, *Weg*, 173–74; Charette, “Proclaim,” 294; Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:323–25; Laansma, *Rest*, 241–45; Luz, *Matthew*, 2:172; 3:102 (*pace* Suggs, *Wisdom*, 106–107; Stanton, *Gospel*, 371–76). This is another strike against the Sir 51:23–30 reading, for, as Laansma points out, Matthew does not seem to develop Sirach or the wisdom motif in the rest of the narrative (*Rest*, 201–203, 243). Instead 11:29 and 12:19 cut against the image of wisdom from Prov 1:20–21 (see also Stanton, *Gospel*,

in 23:4 are specifically placed upon the people's "shoulders" (τοὺς ὤμους τῶν ἀνθρώπων) which is exactly whence Isa 10:27 and 14:25 say the yoke and burden will be removed at the end of the exile.

The «David» frame is also evoked. The Father-Son relationship demonstrated in Jesus' prayer just prior to the invitation (11:25–27) recalls the Davidic thrust of Isa 9:5–6 (cf. 2 Sam 7:12–16; 1 Chr 17:11–14; 22:5–11; Ps 89[88]:4–5, 21, 27–30).⁹⁴ And with the «David» frame in view the reader is led to understand the giving and finding of "rest" (11:28—ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς; 11:29—εὐρήσετε ἀνάπαυσιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν) in light of texts like 2 Sam 7:1, 11.⁹⁵ As Jon Laansma contends, although Jesus "is not *called* Son of David in 11:25–30 he is certainly playing the part."⁹⁶

While "rest" is not specifically an icon of the frame Isaiah 9 contributes to selecting, it nonetheless influences the reading insofar as it is associated with David's house in the cultural encyclopedia. Other icons in the context also do enough to evoke the «end-of-exile» frame that I have argued at length shapes the mission of the eschatological Davidide. Yet specifically, with "rest"

369–70). But the repetition of φορτίον in 23:4 is in direct keeping with its use in 11:30, as well as φορτίζω in 11:28.

- 94 See Laansma whose argument *also* suggests that the frame selected by the Ναζωραῖος of 2:23 is in view as well (*Rest*, 225–27, 233–34; cf. also Elizabeth Talbot, "Rest, Eschatology and Sabbath in Matthew 11:28–30: An Investigation of Jesus' Offer of Rest in the Light of the Septuagint's Use of Anapausis," in *What Does the Scripture Say?: Studies in the Function of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity; Volume 1: The Synoptic Gospels* [ed. Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias; SEJC 17/LNTS 469; London: T&T Clark, 2012], 62).

Luz lays out the argument for a Danielic Son of Man Christology (*Matthew*, 2:164–65).

- 95 See also Mic 4:4 (commented on at length in chapter three); Ezek 34:14–15, 23–24.
- 96 Laansma, *Rest*, 222; emphasis original. His argument is based on a redactional study that concludes that Matt 11:28–30 was shaped "along the lines of the Servant of the Lord theme in Isa 42" (ibid., 211), evinced by the link between 11:29 and 12:20 (ibid., 209–11; see also Stanton, *Gospel*, 341–42, 371–72). This brings a Son of David Christology into consideration (Laansma, *Rest*, 211–13) as does the *combined* usage of two terms from other Matthean Son of David contexts (ibid., 218–21): 11:29's πραῦς ("gentle") is used again in the quotation of Zech 9:9 in Matt 21:5, which is Davidic in its own right but then also immediately followed by an explicit reference to the Son of David tradition through the use of Ps 118:25–26[117:25–26] in Matt 21:9, 15; and 11:25's νήπιος ("infant") is used again (only) in the Son of David controversy of Matt 21:15–16. But for Laansma, "This identification is clinched as soon as we recall the central place of the Davidic dynasty in the OT rest tradition" (ibid., 223; emphasis original). He draws attention to 2 Sam 7:1, 11; 1 Kgs 5:17–18 [EB 3–4]; 1 Chr 22:9–12; Jer 23:5–6; Ezek 34:14–15, 23; *T. Dan* 5:10–12 (ibid., 25–27, 83, 223, 246–50; cf. also Talbot, "Rest," 61–64). If there is a wisdom association in Matt 11:28–30 it plays a subsidiary role to, and emerges from, the Son of David tradition (Laansma, *Rest*, 224, 233–35).

the «end-of-exile» frame is redoubled if the language of 11:29 (καὶ εὐρήσετε ἀνάπαυσιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν) is that of Jer 6:16 (וַיִּמְצְאוּ מְנוּחָה לְנַפְשָׁם; καὶ εὐρήσετε ἀγνισμόν/ἀγιασμόν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν), as is commonly argued.⁹⁷ There the rejection of Yahweh's "rest" results in exile. Says John Nolland, "The value to Matthew of the link with Je. 6:16 is that it connects the present offer of peace with God's offer of peace which, when rejected, led to Exile."⁹⁸ Thus Jesus' offer of "rest" is restoration from exile.⁹⁹ The «David» frame, therefore, works in tandem with the «end-of-exile» frame to guide the reader in perceiving 11:28–30 in terms of Isaiah 9 and other Davidic/end-of-exile traditions. To receive Jesus' rest is to follow the eschatological Son of David on his mission to gather his people out of exile.¹⁰⁰

The conclusion is that the Pharisees and other leaders are imposing a form of exile on the people of Israel which Jesus metaphorically calls a *severe* burden upon their shoulders (23:4). He, however, as the eschatological heir to David's throne, offers respite and return from exile in the same metaphoric language (11:28–30). To take up Jesus' *easy* yoke and *light* burden is to come out of exile with Jesus and, so, "rest."¹⁰¹ These are the ones who comprise "his people" of 1:21. In fact, this invitation/injunction, δεῦτε πρὸς με in 11:28, is reminiscent of Jesus' words in 4:19, δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου, when the disciples are first called.¹⁰² I argue above that that too is an end-of-exile context; in 4:18–22 Jesus is expanding the register of his end-of-exile people with Simon, Andrew, James and John. In 11:28–30, then, the size of the eschatological Israel is potentially unlimited as the call goes out to "all" (πάντες; 11:28). Indeed, if *learning* from Jesus in 11:29 (μάθετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ) is the essence of taking up his yoke, the *sine qua non* of coming out of exile, then the growth of eschatological Israel breaks even the bounds of Matthew's narrative world as the disciples are told

97 Cf. esp. Gundry (*Use*, 136) and Knowles (*Jeremiah*, 214) who contend that Matthew correctly renders מְנוּחָה as ἀνάπαυσιν contra LXX^B's ἀγνισμόν ("purification") and LXX^A's ἀγιασμόν ("sanctification"). But see Laansma, *Rest*, 227–29.

98 Nolland, *Matthew*, 478; so too Talbot, "Rest," 65.

99 So too Charette, "Proclaim," 292–94, 297.

100 This reading of Matt 11:28–30 also results from attending to the setting provided by the genealogy (Piotrowski, "After the Deportation," 200–201).

101 Thus the yoke and rest images are redemptive-historical (as the *Sabbath* controversy of the very next pericopae also strongly suggest; cf. esp. Samuele Bacchoicchi, "Matthew 11:28–30: Jesus' Rest and the Sabbath," *AUSS* 22 [1984]: 289–309), and not to be understood in relation to daily agricultural life, as seems to be the thrust of Sir 51:23–30 (see Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:288–89, 296; Laansma, *Rest*, 203–204, 246–51).

102 Hagner, *Matthew* 1:323. These are the only two occurrences in Matthew where δεῦτε is used by Jesus to call people to follow him.

in the gospel's penultimate sentence to "*teach all* (μαθητεύσατε πάντα) the nations . . . instructing them to observe all whatsoever [Jesus] commanded" (28:19–20).¹⁰³ The last sentence promises Jesus' enduring (Immanuel) presence to this end. Such a movement from Isaiah 9 to Matthew 4 to Matthew 11 to Matthew 28 surely had a powerful socio-rhetorical effect on the evangelist's first audience, on which we will reflect in the next, and final, chapter.

Attention to the OT narratives that the prologue-quotations generate contributes greatly to the reader's understanding of Matt 1:1–4:17. The intertextual conversations that emerge select interpretive frames whereby the end of the exile becomes a determinative paradigm for Matthew's ecclesiology. It remains now to draw together the icons of the «David» and «end-of-exile» frames in order to consider the hermeneutical reverberations this constellation of OT images has on one final passage: the climactic cross and resurrection. Suggestions can then be made regarding the socio-rhetorical effect such a narrative might have had on Matthew's first-century audience as it situated itself vis-à-vis others groups and the OT back-story they were all claiming was *their* story.

103 Piotrowski, "After the Deportation," 201–202.

Conclusion

You cannot use the text as you want,
but only as the text wants you to use it.

UMBERTO ECO, *The Role of the Reader*¹



Stories are powerful, especially when they become “our story.” Narrational accounts of a group’s origin can legitimate its members’ participation, give them a metanarrative-lens through which to understand themselves and others, and provide a basis for shaping customs new and old. Before such powerful results can be detected, however, the historian must first understand the story that was told, listening to the text as the genre dictates. In the case of “the Matthean community” a story was told which itself was laced with an antecedent story, an all-encompassing tradition that several other communities also already possessed. The new and particular way in which Matthew’s church staked a competing claim to that tradition is the final horizon to which this study looks. What can be said about Matthew’s ideological texture as evinced by the unique hermeneutical role of the prologue-quotations? What was the likely socio-rhetorical effect of the gospel in shaping the Matthean community’s worldview?

Summary

To get to this point in the study I employed a literary critical approach that takes seriously Matthew’s text as a story. Thus the narrative was examined on its own terms as a coherent whole, putting off the consideration of the rhetorical effect until after the text has been studied. While giving sustained attention to the hermeneutical significance of the prologue-quotations and the frames they contribute to selecting, I employed the construct of the “Model Reader,” the textually-determined competent reader. The text’s ability to affect the first

¹ Eco, *Role*, 9.

readers' *historical* world will be considered below after I summarize my findings regarding Matthew's *narrative* world.²

Intertextual Frames Selected by Matthew's Prologue

New Testament scholars seem to assume that the meanings of antecedent texts are given. But they are not. They must be explored. Studies, therefore, that blanket-label Matthew's use of the OT as "non-contextual" are without warrant if they have not investigated the necessary OT contexts. The important thing is not whether Matthew understood an OT prophet's intent (as though that were possible for him or post-Enlightenment Western scholars) but whether Matthew's context elucidates certain elements in the OT context and vice versa.³ That can only be done by careful examination of the Matthean and OT contexts in question, the latter of which typically get a paragraph or two (if that) in much NT scholarship. When the necessary work is done, however, it is not hard to see what it was about the OT *contexts*—not just isolated quotes—that contribute powerfully to Matthew's narrative world.

In the genealogy (1:1–17) Matthew sets the redemptive-historical context as one of ongoing exile, defined in terms of the collapse of the house of David which has not been restored since Judah's historic demise. Matthew 1:18–25 then recounts how the details of Jesus' birth "fulfill" the vision of Isaiah 7–8. There the prophet narrates how *the house of David* is under threat of annihilation. Yahweh intervenes, however, to protect his covenantal promise (cf. 2 Sam 7:10–16), giving a symbol of his commitment to his people through the birth of the Immanuel child, which also spells doom for those opposed to the house of David. The evangelist engages in an intertextual conversation with that narrative in Matt 1:23 to illustrate a greater deliverance for the house of David: it is not delivered from near death (as in Isaiah 7–8) but resurrected after it had already been laid in the grave of exile (Matthew 1). This serves as a sign to Yahweh's people (for *they* shall call him Immanuel) that his covenant with them is still operable, evinced in the fact that the everlasting Davidic throne is not abandoned, but on the verge of ultimate "fulfillment." But while 1:21 promises salvation, it also creates ambiguity regarding just who Jesus' "people" are. Thus, Matthew 1 prepares the reader for what Yahweh is ready to finally achieve through David's line. The threat of judgment, therefore, also looms for David's adversaries.

² As Eco contends, a text's interpretation must precede an investigation into its use (*Limits*, 57–60, 62).

³ Cf. ch. 1, pp. 24–29.

In Matt 2:1–12 the evangelist redoubles this ongoing exile setting by generating Micah 3–5. There, exile will last *until* the Son of David is born (Mic 5:2). Thus, in Matt 2:6 the author's use of Mic 5:1–3 demonstrates that the end-of-exile Son of David has been born. The arrival of worshipping Gentiles in Matt 2:1–2, 9–11 contributes to this interpretation in two ways. For one, Isa 60:1–6 (alluded to in 2:11) predicts Gentiles bringing their glories to Israel at the end of the exile. And second, while Mic 4:1–4 envisions Gentiles coming to worship the only true God *in Jerusalem* (to which the magi first go), Mic 4:8–5:1 foresees a relocation of leadership, including the temple administration, *away* from Jerusalem. Thus, as the Gentile magi worship Jesus outside of Jerusalem, he is cast as the expected end-of-exile temple—the new locus of true worship. But Matthew also leaves an important component of Micah 3–5 unexplained. When will Israel's oppressors be judged, making way for eschatological peace? Nonetheless, developing the expectation of chapter 1, the reader at least gets insight into who these tormenters are: Herod and “all the chief priests and scribes of the people.” They are characterized as Israel's captors and David's new enemies. The former attempts to supplant David's house; the latter seeks to dominate his people. Thus, by Matt 2:12 the antagonists of Matthew's *dramatis personae* have been characterized.

The repetition of David and exile themes in the genealogy and first two formula-quotations is enough to send the Model Reader on an inferential walk through the cultural encyclopedia. The value of such is to find interpretive guidance from the storehouse of textually encased knowledge about David and exile. In doing so the reader finds that the idea of an ongoing exile is not undisputed among late Second Temple texts, though certainly prevalent. But while Davidic hopes are not unanimous, yet common enough, they are only thinly tied to hopes for the end of the exile. This is different than that found in the OT where David's house is often pictured leading the restoration from exile. Matthew seems to line up with the latter's vision (as might be expected with the gospel's high volume of OT material), and bold not only in linking the reestablishment of David's line with the end of the exile but even claiming that Jesus' birth means so much.

Returning to Matthew, the author *further* emphasizes the ongoing exile context in Matt 2:13–18. Jesus' escape *to* Egypt reads like Moses' flight to Midian forty years before the latter's role as Israel's savior. The placement of Hos 11:1 (in 2:15), therefore, typecasts *Jerusalem* as a “metaphorical Egypt,” the place of captivity whence the new savior must rescue his people. The quote of Jer 31:15 in Matt 2:18 has a similar effect: Jerusalem/Judea is the place of oppression in that exile-like events are afoot. The use of Hosea 11 and Jeremiah 30–33, however, also anticipates the end of the exile right over the horizon. While both

texts grieve the sad state of exile, they also, in short space, rhetorically mollify their own sorrows by envisioning the *imminent* end to the exile. In Hosea, the retrospect to the exodus spawns the expectation for a new exodus. In Jeremiah, Israel's mothers are just starting their lament when Yahweh incites their hope for "restored fortunes" (including a new covenant and an atonement for sins) in a second exodus. But does not the new Moses have to return to the place of captivity to rescue Yahweh's people? Indeed, in 2:14 Jesus flees like Moses and in 2:20–21 returns to the fray. But in 2:22 he retreats to Galilee. The reader, therefore, anticipates his return to "metaphorical Egypt," Jerusalem, to effect salvation.

Though Jesus' return to Jerusalem does not occur for another nineteen chapters, Matthew's restoration from exile is, nonetheless, expected to commence immediately. As the Ναζωραίος (2:23), Jesus is the preliminary sprouting of the Davidic restoration-shoot (Isa 11:1), arising out of the failure and infamy of the exile, now poised on the road/way to call both Jew and Gentile on a second exodus (Isa 11:10–12, 16). In addition to this Christology, the moniker also has an ecclesiological effect: the use of a future passive "he will be called" (κληθήσεται) demonstrates a relationship between the Ναζωραίος and those who avow him as such. Those who affirm Jesus' status as the rightful heir to David's throne are those who participate in his end-of-exile mission.

By the end of chapter 2 the reader expects this restoration from exile to accelerate. In 3:1–4:11 the storyteller does not disappoint. Here Jesus' characterization is carried forward: he is the lone remnant of Israel, embarking on the end-of-exile second exodus envisioned by the prophets. Specifically, it is the prophecy of Isaiah 40–55 (invoked in 3:2–3; echoed in the 4:17) that Matthew engages in conversation at this point. There, in Isaiah, the exile will end when Yahweh walks along the second-exodus road/way, calling out to regather his scattered people. The end will entail an atonement for sins (the initial cause of exile) and a demonstration of Yahweh's glory to the Gentiles. In Matt 3:2–3 John's preaching is equated with this call to Israel at the end of the exile. Among the various responses of the characters in Matthew 3, only Jesus is confirmed as the true Israelite by the voice from heaven (3:17). He alone is Yahweh's "son" (echoing Exod 4:22) embarking on the long-awaited second exodus in Matt 3:13–4:11. Thus, all Israel returns from exile in Matt 3:1–4:11 insofar as Jesus totalizes "the remnant."

Finally, Matt 4:12–17 sets up Jesus' ministry as the continuation of John's end-of-exile summons (cf. 3:2//4:17). Now that the exile has ended for Jesus the lone remnant, the door is swung open for the rest of humanity to flow into Israel. Just as John's message is equated with Isaiah 40–55 (Matt 3:2–3), so the same proclamation of Jesus comprises a summation of Isa 8:23–9:6 (Matt 4:15–17).

There the prophet speaks of the restoration from exile as a shining light on the road/way by the sea, which will result in the removal of the yoke of oppression and the reunification of the nation under David's unending sovereignty. Thus, Jesus' ministry constitutes an invitation to Jew and Gentile alike to join the true Israel on his end-of-exile trek. Even though Israel may have been reduced to the loneliest number, it will not remain so as the one, the Son of David no less, finally returns from exile to collect Jews and Gentiles under his eschatological reign. That collection process begins immediately with the disciples in 4:18–25 and continues through Matthew 5–28 as Jesus returns to Jerusalem to atone for sins and judge David's enemies.

In sum, Matthew's narration progresses by means of conversations with seven formula-quotations that select two dominant frames: «David» and «end-of-exile». These frames provide the reader with an interpretive grid for understanding the narrative's prologue in terms of the OT's expectations for a son-of-David-led end of exile. In employing the two frames the reader also observes that there is much overlap between them. In fact, it is hard to see where one frame ends and the other begins insofar as the re-enthronement of the house of *David* is itself an «end-of-exile» icon in Micah 3–5, Jeremiah 30–33, Isaiah 11 and Isaiah 9. The reader also observes that in the development of the prologue David receives the most attention in the first two quotations' contexts (Matt 1:1–2:12) as Isaiah 7–8 and Micah 3–5 are particularly concerned with the house of David. The following five quotations are *less* concerned with David and more focused on the end of the exile (Hosea 11 does not mention David at all and the context evoked by Isa 40:3 only mentions David at the end in chapter 55). *In Matthean perspective, therefore, there is a movement from a clear «David» frame early in the narration to the emergence of a more consistent «end-of-exile» frame by the middle of the second chapter.* Thus, the first frame establishes who Jesus is: the new David. And the following explicates what the new David must accomplish: bring the exile to a close. Their interrelationship suggests that they are one frame really, two sides of the same covenantal coin: no David equals exile; re-enthronement of David equals end-of-exile. It seems best, therefore, to understand the «David» frame subsumed in the larger «end-of-exile» frame, the *latter* being the more consistent concern in the quotations. Leaving the prologue the Model Reader, then, can employ the singular «David/end-of-exile» frame for reading the rest of Matthew.

In the final analysis, Matthew's prologue-quotations do contribute to his Christology. But they ultimately have an ecclesialogically formative effect. Jesus is the Son of David whose eschatological mission is to end the exile and re-form Israel. Those who respond to his preaching (summarized in 4:17) and place themselves under the atonement he provides (summarized in 26:26–28;

anticipated in 1:21) are Yahweh's eschatological end-of-exile people. This is a Christology situated in the landscape of the OT prophets' hope for restoration from exile. And it is an ecclesiology built on David's restorative role. Thus, what scholars have seen as a concern with Jesus as the Davidic heir is actually *part of* Matthew's larger end-of-exile narrative. While David is a primary concern in the first two quotations (Isaiah 7–8 and Micah 3–5), he is secondary to the larger end-of-exile focus of the other five quotes (note even referenced in Hosea 11), himself being one of several other icons that comprise the «end-of-exile» frame. This should cause us to read Matthew's Davidic Christology under the umbrella of the larger redemptive-historical telos of the restoration of Yahweh's people from exile. In other words, David is important to Matthew but is only properly understood within the larger end-of-exile landscape on which the narrative is set. David may be Matthew's theological table centerpiece, but end-of-exile is the entire room.

Coherency and Cogency

This reading works. But is it true? Is this Matthew's *intentio operis*? Can it suggest anything of the *intentio auctoris*? Four points attest to the coherency, and therefore cogency, of this reading: the shared Davidic and end-of-exile themes between the quotes; the contribution the quotes make to the narratological development within the prologue; the satisfying employment of the frames across the rest of the narrative; and the historical plausibility of such an idea in the first century CE.⁴

First, it is observed that all seven prologue-quotations come from OT contexts concerned with David and/or, more emphatically, the end of the exile. This does not look coincidental, nor is it an ancillary byproduct of quoting the prophets. Not all prophetic texts address the house of David; not all are concerned with the exile. Instead, this appears to reflect a deliberate choice of

4 By "satisfying" I mean how well the employment of the frame pulls a Matthean context together for an illuminative reading (cf. Hays, *Echoes*, 31–32). As Eco puts it: "How to prove a conjecture about the *intentio operis*? The only way is to check it against the text as a coherent whole. This idea, too, is an old one and comes from Augustine (*De doctrina christiana* 2–3): any interpretation given of a certain portion of a text can be accepted if it is confirmed and must be rejected if it is challenged by another portion of the same text. In this sense the internal textual coherence controls the otherwise uncontrollable drives of the reader" (*Limits*, 59; cf. also 148–49).

texts precisely because they share these elements in common. I cannot say it any better than Allison, who writes that similar references can

possess a collective integrity which establishes a typological sequence. This matters so much because it is often difficult to determine how much of the Tanak should be activated or evoked by a New Testament citation or allusion. But when a catena of New Testament texts alludes to biblical passages that are all part of the same story, then, we may surmise, that whole story should be called to mind: plot is recapitulating plot.⁵

Matthew's prologue more than alludes to, but rather directly quotes biblical passages that are part of the same OT subplot: David's expected mission to end the exile. In Dodd's words, these seven quotations are "plot-texts," and therefore metonyms of the entire OT David/end-of-exile narrative.⁶

Second, more than just coming from the same OT subplot, the quotes themselves are situated in the prologue in such a way as to structure its narratological development. In other words, they are not just dropped into the narrative—as though the prologue's narration would be the same without them—but they contribute to its formation and progression as Matthew 1–4 moves to its own climax. The first quote (Isa 7:14 in Matt 1:23) identifies the *problem*, the absence of a Davidic king, and evokes the emblem of Yahweh's commitment to resolve it: Immanuel. The second (Mic 5:1, 3 in Matt 2:6) situates the *characters* in such a reconfigured redemptive-historical setting. The third and fourth (Hos 11:1 in Matt 2:15, and Jer 31:15 in Matt 2:18) contribute further to that setting by describing exile-like *events*, but also envisage a solution right over the horizon. The fifth quote (Isa 11:1 et al. in Matt 2:23), then, marks the blossoming of the expected restoration and also anticipates an immediate second exodus. The sixth quote (Isa 40:3 in Matt 3:3) separates Jesus as the true Israel and thrusts him onto this second exodus. And the seventh (Isa 8:23–9:1 in Matt 4:15–16), finally, marks the initiation of Jesus' ministry of gathering others to join him in comprising the eschatological Israel at the end of the exile. Thus, the quotes are not a haphazard jumble of exilic texts peppered over the front of the gospel, but they constellate in a discernible pattern. Each is unique in what it contributes to steadily move the prologue's narration to its own climax

5 Allison, *New Moses*, 310. But I would argue that David and end-of-exile themes are more prominent than a Moses typology. The new Moses should be understood as a component of the larger prophetic expectation of a second *exodus* at the *end of the exile*.

6 Cf. Dodd, *According*, 72, 102.

(in the last quote). Therefore, Matthew's prologue could not do without them (as is sometimes alleged). Each successive quote, with its respective OT context in conversation with its new Matthean context, moves the narrative, little by little, toward the end of the exile. This observation strongly supports the above conclusions; it shows that the quotes are not merely inserted to validate the events⁷ or the geographic movement of the prologue⁸ but integral to the redemptive-historical progress of Matthew 1–4. Such organization does not typically emerge from unintentional scattering, but reflects textual coherency at the least and a deliberate *intentio auctoris* at the most. So while many scholars have observed several stray statements of exile in Matthew 1–4, this reading wraps them all together in a cohesive narrative explanation.

Third, at the end of each chapter I suggest how these frames guide the reader in interpreting Matthean contexts where the icons appear *outside* of the prologue (4:18–22; 8:1–4, 17, 24, 32; 11:28–30; 12:17–21; 13:1, 9–17; 14:25; 15:29; 16:21; 20:28; 21:8–13; 26:28; 27:32–28:10; 28:16–20). In so doing I demonstrate the hermeneutical usefulness of the frames and, therefore, the coherency they provide for the narrative as a whole.⁹ Thus I submit that my reading of the prologue is cogent because it makes sense of the whole of Matthew.¹⁰ That is

7 Pace Strecker, *Weg*.

8 Pace Stendahl, "*Quis et Unde?*" (followed by many).

9 In short, the employment of the frames is often very "satisfying" across Matthew. When my conclusions are placed next to the work done on particular Matthean passages that evince an ongoing exile, it is hard not to read Matthew as an end-of-exile narrative from start to finish. See my introduction, pp. 14–16 and bibliog. ad loc., as well as Mark E. Rapinchuk, "The End of the Exile: A Neglected Aspect of Matthean Christological Typology" (PhD diss., Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1996); Evans, "Continuing Exile"; Samuel P. Lamerson, "The Parable of the Unforgiving Servant in its First-Century Jewish Milieu: The Relationship Between Exile and Forgiveness in the Gospel of Matthew" (PhD diss., Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 2001); Baxter, "Mosaic Imagery"; Eloff, "From the Exile"; idem, "Exile"; Michael F. Bird, "Who Comes from the East and the West?: Luke 13:28–29/Matt 8:11–12 and the Historical Jesus," *NTS* 52 (2006): 441–57; McComiskey, "Purpose of Jesus' Parables"; idem, "Exile and Restoration from Exile in the Scriptural Quotations and Allusions of Jesus," *JETS* 53 (2010): 673–96; Kitchen, "Another Exile"; Hood, *Messiah*; Daling, "Idolatry"; Piotrowski, "I Will Save"; idem, "After the Deportation."

10 The point is more forcefully made in light of the way the quotes are 1) explicit, 2) introduced with a formula, 3) interrupt the narration and provide commentary, and 4) give shape to the *prologue*. Whatever other frames may be operable in Matthew, those selected by the *explicit intertextual conversations in the prologue* are the most hermeneutically determinative.

to say, in reaction to Luz's famous, and oft-cited, comment I have shown what "light" the prologue-quotations cast over the rest of the narrative. He writes:

In the prologue Matthew sets up a "light" for his readers with his rapid sequence of fulfillment quotations. The fulfillment quotations scattered throughout the rest of the Gospel are then reminders of this light. The narrative method of repetition is especially effective here.¹¹

What is that "light"? It is the end of the exile. Of what are the subsequent quotations "reminders"? They, together with the several strewn icons of the «David/end-of-exile» frame, remind the reader of the *heilgeschichtliche* setting of the gospel and Jesus' role as the Son of David to end the exile.¹² How is this "narrative method . . . effective?" The Model Reader does not forget the frames that are selected seven times over in quick succession in the prologue. My forays into the narrative-proper at least show the potential for further research into Matthew's narrative world vis-à-vis Israel's prophetic hope of restoration from exile. At most they show the pervasiveness of the «David/end-of-exile» icons and, therefore, the unabating hermeneutical usefulness of the frame.

Finally, this reading is historically plausible. Many other first-century CE groups understood their plight as one of ongoing exile.¹³ Matthew's focus on the exile, therefore, would have stood out as more of the same, even while the forceful insertion of Davidic themes into the tradition made the first gospel quite unique. Thus, this reading does not portray the author as being entirely inventive, but realistically situates the gospel among a Jewish debate that long predated its writing. Authors typically create out of the milieu of circulating ideas, while giving such ideas a slight nuance making their art their own. And so Matthew has picked up the already-popular concept of ongoing exile and contributed this unique angle: the resurrection of David's house as necessary to end the exile.¹⁴ It is a slight move, but a powerful move.

These four considerations speak to this interpretation's coherency and therefore cogency, as well as a likely intent of the author.

¹¹ Luz, *Matthew*, 1:130.

¹² Admittedly, space prohibited *sufficiently detailed* attention to the rest of the formula-quotations. Further work in that regard could prove very fruitful.

¹³ See my fourth chapter.

¹⁴ In fact, I can be more precise. Davidic themes are also represented in the late Second Temple Jewish literature; thus Matthew has brought together two existent notions in an exciting new dynamic.

Matthew 26–28

The reader is not done yet, however. To maximize coherency the frame selected in the prologue has to bear on the narrative's climax.¹⁵ Therefore, the reader's interest is particularly drawn to Jesus' crucifixion and resurrection. At this climactic moment, a conglomeration of several icons beckons the reader to employ the «David/end-of-exile» frame. I have already discussed the way Matt 1:21, 16:21, 20:28 and 26:26–28 drive the narrative to its pinnacle in 27:32–28:10, meeting the reader's expectation of Jesus' return to the place of captivity to finally “save his people from their sins.”¹⁶ It is not surprising, therefore, that so many icons appear in chapters 26–28 (esp. 27:32–28:10): atonement, covenant and new exodus in 26:26–29; David in 27:46; healing in 27:42 and 28:7; light in 27:45 and 28:1; new temple in 27:51; Gentiles in 27:54; restoration of Israel in 28:10. When the frame is employed for interpreting these chapters, Jesus' crucifixion-turned-resurrection is understood as the ultimate and indispensable end-of-exile event. For there is no return from exile without the forgiveness of sins. Jesus' atoning death serves that end.

Specifically, in 27:46 Jesus quotes a psalm attributed to David. This alone evokes the «David» frame. But more than that, his actual words “My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?” seem to contradict the promise of 1:23 where Yahweh's presence is a function of keeping his covenant with David. As with the first exile, it appears at this moment in Matt 27:46 that the house of David is again collapsed, enduring another exile. The fact that Jesus says these words during the three hours of *darkness* (27:45) reinforces this interpretation, for, as the reader has seen, darkness is emblematic of the exile (Isa 8:22).¹⁷ Thus Jesus' crucifixion, as the moment of Yahweh's wrath,¹⁸ is understood as his own personal exile, his expulsion from Yahweh's presence as well as the scattering of David's people (26:31, 56).

Jesus' return from exile, then, is his resurrection.¹⁹ If exile is darkness, then it comes as no surprise that the resurrection is set as the light of dawn is breaking

15 This is true not only for the frame but for any narrative thread begun in the prologue. It is not surprising, therefore, to see the way Matthew revisits several prologue-motifs at the end of his story (see Hood [*Messiah*, 145–48] for a summary of thematic links and recent bibliog.).

16 See my fifth chapter.

17 That this darkness falls at *midday* (sixth hour) in Matt 27:45 the reader could perceive an intertext with Deut 28:29.

18 Compare the use of *πότηριον* in Matt 26:27, 39 with esp. LXX Isa 51:17, 22.

19 This relationship between the end of the era of wrath and the resurrection of the one/ones making a sacrifice on behalf of the nation is not without precedent in the cultural encyclopedia. See 2 Maccabees 7 where resurrection (7:9, 11, 23) is expected for those who

(ἐπιφωσκούση; 28:1). As part of the φῶς word group,²⁰ the verb ἐπιφώσκω calls for the «end-of-exile» frame. Specifically, it carries the connotation of the first emergence of light.²¹ It seems apropos, therefore, that the reader understands that the light of Jesus' resurrection is a new species of light, as though light has never shown before. It is the inauguration of a new age as Isa 9:1's end-of-exile light now shines unremittingly.²² Hence Jesus can then regather his new Israel once and for all in 28:7, 10, 16 and give them their final commission to summon others into his eschatological end-of-exile community in 28:18–20.²³

Thus, Matthew's Jesus-story, from start to finish, is an ecclesiological determinative Davidic end-of-exile narrative.

The Socio-Rhetorical Effect on Matthew's Church

With that I can now make some suggestions regarding Matthew's ideological texture.

atone for the nation (7:18, 32; cf. also 7:1, 5 for more covert atonement language) at the end of "wrath" (7:37–38).

20 TDNT 9:310–12.

21 BDAG 386.

22 Some have also seen the eschatological/end-of-exile expectations of Ezek 37:1–14 behind the dead saints in Jerusalem emerging from their tombs in Matt 27:52–53 (J. Grassi, "Ezekiel xxxvii. 1–14 and the New Testament," *NTS* 11 [1964–1965]: 163; Gnlika, *Matthäusevangelium* 2:477; Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel* [2 vols.; NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997–1998], 2:389). Chae agrees, as well as seeing Zech 14:4–5 behind the earthquake and cloven rocks in Matt 27:51b (*Jesus*, 327–40). Additionally, Daniel M. Gurtner has argued for an Ezekiel 37 restoration background to the torn veil in Matt 27:51a (*The Torn Veil: Matthew's Exposition of the Death of Jesus* [SNTSMS 139; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007], 144–52, 160–69, 195–201).

23 Robertson's reflection from a canonical angle is worth quoting at length: "The history of Israel in exile and restoration becomes a basis for projection into the future. . . . The permeating character of the themes of exile and restoration throughout the ministry of Israel's prophets may provide some guidelines for understanding the consummate fulfillment of prophecy in the present age. This fulfillment finds its focal point in the person of Jesus Christ. As the suffering servant of the Lord, he has gone into the abyss of exile from the presence of God. He has also experienced restoration by his resurrection from the dead and ascension to the right hand of the Father. All who are united to him by faith have died with him and have been raised again" (*Christ of the Prophets*, 501). Similarly see Walter Brueggemann, *Old Testament Theology: Essays on Structure, Theme, and Text* (ed. Patrick D. Miller; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 183, 200–201.

Much Matthean scholarship has placed an unrealistic burden on the text of Matthew. It has been hard pressed to tell us *where* in the “parting of the ways” Matthew weighs in.²⁴ The *text* of Matthew, however, just will not give up this secret; the evidence can break in a lot of different directions. Perhaps it is time to center the conversation on a more realistic (and in my mind more fruitful) question: How did the Matthean community understand itself, and how did they categorize their opponents vis-à-vis this Jesus-story, regardless of the matrix they still co-inhabited or from which they recently separated?²⁵ That is,

24 See the review of the main positions in Graham N. Stanton, “The Gospel of Matthew and Judaism,” *BJRL* 66 (1984): 264–84; Menninger, *Israel*, 23–62; Donald Senior, “Between Two Worlds: Gentiles and Jewish Christians in Matthew’s Gospel,” *CBQ* 61 (1999): 1–5. Luz sees the community as having recently separated from the synagogue (*Matthew*, 1:49–52). Bornkamm (“End-Expectation”), Overman (*Matthew’s Gospel*) and Anthony J. Saldarini (*Matthew’s Christian-Jewish Community* [Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994]) see Matthew’s audience still operating within Judaism, though with great difficulty of course. The once prominent view that the community had long separated from Judaism and was no longer interested therein—missionary or otherwise—finds little support these days.

A closely-related question addresses when the Gentile mission began and the community’s attitude toward Jews/Judaism henceforth. See e.g. Overman, *Matthew’s Gospel*, 141–49, 156–58; Anthony J. Saldarini, “The Gospel of Matthew and Jewish-Christian Conflict,” in *Social History of the Matthean Community: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches* (ed. David L. Balch; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 38–61; idem, *Christian-Jewish Community, inter alia* 68–83; Senior, “Between,” 5–23; Michelle Slee, *The Church in Antioch in the First Century CE: Communion and Conflict* (JSNTSup 244; London: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 126–45. I disagree when it comes to the Gentiles, however, that “we have to accept that Matthew’s Gospel is *inherently* contradictory” (Slee, *Church*, 131). A redemptive-historical development is at work between chs. 10 and 28, explained by the prophetic expectation of major end-of-exile events. I also disagree with Luz, who contends that the Gentile mission resulted from a failed mission to Israel (*Theology*, 16–19). Rather, the mission to the Gentiles is understood as a necessary endeavor at the end of *Israel’s* exile. As Saldarini states, “Various scriptural passages which mention the nations (Matt. 4:15–16; 12:18–21) support Matthew’s view that the nations have an integral relationship with Israel” (*Christian-Jewish Community*, 82–83). See also Konradt, *Israel*.

25 I would also contend that we might be at an impasse at identifying Matthew’s provenance. Syrian Antioch is as good a conjecture as any, but without any certainty we cannot use the thesis to develop much further understanding. On the other hand, we do know that the gospel was circulated, regardless of whether such was the author’s intention (cf. Richard Bauckham, ed., *The Gospels for All Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998]). Perhaps it is best, therefore, to speak of Matthean communities. On this issue see esp. Nolland (*Matthew*, 18 n. 14); I cannot improve upon his comments *ad loc*.

what can we surmise was the socio-rhetorical effect of such a narrative in the church's life?

It is commonly argued that Matthew's use of the OT served his community's need to legitimize their existence on theological grounds. More specifically, wrapping the Scriptures into their Jesus-story gave the church an opportunity to stake their claim on the OT as *their* story, thereby establishing their legitimacy and alleging for themselves the heritage, privileges and, therefore, rights to the theological moniker "Israel."²⁶ I cannot deny these conclusions. The slightest knowledge of Jewish sectarianism in the first century makes these points obvious simply given the frequency with which Matthew uses the OT.²⁷ Therein lies the problem, however. Such conclusions require merely noting that Matthew used the OT. That is, they do not necessitate digging into the *content* of the quotations. These same conclusions could be drawn if Matthew had used *any* OT texts in great enough volume. But Matthew used *these* specific texts. To date the question has not been sufficiently explored as to how *Isaiah* 7–12, *Micah* 3–5, *Hosea* 11, *Jeremiah* 30–33 and *Isaiah* 40–55—specific texts *from* the OT—first shape the story and the story in turn might have shaped Matthew's church.²⁸ Based on the forgoing study I am led to conclude that the author had particular narrative-theological significances in view when selecting these specific texts. He did not choose them merely because they were canonical. He chose them to import their specific narrative worlds into his own. When this is taken into consideration we can draw more precise inferences regarding the self-awareness of Matthew's church.

To begin, the ecclesiological ambiguity created in 1:21 is duly noted. Matthew states that Jesus will "save *his* people from their sins." There is little doubt in my mind that the Matthean community understood itself as "*his* people," those saved from their sins. They are, after all, those who have been taught "to keep everything whatsoever [Jesus] commanded" (28:20). Yet in the narrative, following directly on the heels of Jesus' *Jewish* genealogy, "*his* people" seems to be the nation Israel. As the narrative progresses, especially on the

26 Frankemölle, *Jahwebund*, 305–306; Sand, *Gesetz*, 151–56, 168–77; Overman, *Matthew's Gospel*, 74–78; Luz, *Theology*, 40; idem, *Matthew*, 1:130; cf. also Senior, "Lure," 101–103, 115.

27 On the diversity in first-century Judaism see e.g. Saldarini (*Christian-Jewish Community*, 11–18) and esp. pp. 105–106 above.

28 This, of course, raises the issue of Matthew's source. Did he have a complete OT or a *Zitatensammlung*, a list of isolated proof-texts? See the appendix where I contend that he had a full OT. This consideration is relegated to an appendix because ultimately for this study it does not matter: *someone* has put these texts together, either Matthew or his source. The effect for the reading community is the same: the original source of the quotations, their OT contexts, is evoked for the theologically literate.

scaffolding of the prologue-quotations, Matthew brings these two groups—"Israel" and Jesus-followers—into confluence. Thus, to Matthew, those who have responded to Jesus' call—now made through the Jewish disciples to all the nations (28:16–20)—can claim this coveted theological title, "Israel."²⁹

But there were others who also maintained that the title was theirs on different theological grounds. Both the Hasmoneans and the Qumran covenanters also had tremendous narratives of their origins draped with the OT (1 and 2 Maccabees; *Damascus Document*; *Pesher Habakkuk*; etc.). The Pharisees believed that by virtue of their stewardship of the law they comprised the continuation of Israel (cf. *Ant.* 17.41). The Sadducees governed the largest visible emblem of Israel's covenant with Yahweh: the temple.³⁰ To pose the issue this way is to inquire into what rhetoric the Matthean community had at its disposal—in a contentious climate—to lay hold of this absolute and much coveted moniker "Israel" to the exclusion of other groups who laid claim to it *without reference to Jesus the Christ*.³¹

Based on the ecclesiological ambiguity in 1:21 that is immediately followed by seven hermeneutically determinative OT quotations, I conclude that Matthew made space for *a definition of Israel* based on *OT expectations for Israel*. The definition looks like this: Israel are those under the eschatological Davidide's rule at the end of the exile as foreseen in the prophets, namely Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea and Micah. Thus, I agree with Frankemölle that Matthew had a "Vertrautsein mit der gesamten Vorstellungswelt des AT."³² Georg Künzel is also right to aver, more forcefully, that Matthew puts forward "die Geschichte Israels als Voraussetzung des Jesusgeschehens."³³ And Menninger's conclusion

29 See also Frankemölle, who argues that Matthew describes the community as the new covenant people in terms of OT promises to Israel (*Jahwebund*, 305, 358, 384–94). Saldarini also contends that, based on the narrative's characterization, the Matthean community understood itself as "Israel," but not exclusively so (*Christian-Jewish Community*, 27–43). See also Pennington, *Heaven and Earth*, 347–48.

30 Still later we could make the same observation regarding Bar Kokhba et al. We know that Christians did not fight in the second Jewish war because they disagreed with Kokhba's messianic claims. Thus, the sort of issues under investigation here were still on the table as many as two generations later.

31 Pace Saldarini it is difficult to see how the Matthean community would have conceived of other groups to also comprise Israel *without* allegiance to Jesus (*Christian-Jewish Community*, passim). Saldarini is right, however, that Matthew's issue is with the Jewish leadership, not the entire nation (*ibid.*, 44–67).

32 Frankemölle, *Jahwebund*, 385.

33 Georg Künzel, *Studien zum Gemeindeverständnis des Matthäus-Evangeliums* (CalTMB A/10; Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1978), 259.

aligns that, based on the OT narrative, Matthew articulates “the position the church held [as] the true Israel of God.”³⁴ But the place of the exile and restoration as a crucial part of “der gesamten Vorstellungswelt des AT” has heretofore been overlooked in discerning Matthew’s ecclesiology. In fact, it is the exile that is the most commonly evoked image in the prologue-quotations and therefore a major pillar in Matthew’s “theologische Denkstruktur.” Thus, the exile plays a major role in “die Geschichte Israels” for understanding “das Selbstverständnis der Gemeinde.”³⁵

It is also not hard (that is, after the hard work is done) to see what Matthew’s audience would have appreciated about these quotes given that some (most?) in the community would have been proficient in understanding the OT.³⁶ In other words, the narrative worlds that Matthew generates and the resultant intertextual conversations are palpable to those most familiar with the OT metanarrative, which had for generations informed these first (mostly, if not at least somewhat, Jewish) Christians’ self-identity in a diverse and challenging world. When Matthew’s locution permeated his and other such communities (some may have already had Mark, some maybe not; all would have known some of the tradition [Q?]) that same metanarrative was stretched, filled out, explained and brought to a conclusion satisfying to them. In short, we have only one certain artifact through which we can peer into this community, the historical document we call The Gospel According to Saint Matthew. And it is a narrational speech-act that reshaped its first-century readers’ identity vis-à-vis the metanarrative by which they had understood themselves for generations.

Specifically, that identity-forming metanarrative hinges on a theological understanding of the covenantal problems that the exile created. It left Yahweh’s promises to David in tatters and Abraham’s children scattered, not to mention the temple in a heap of ruins.³⁷ Thus, the OT story is awkwardly incomplete, several of its narrative strands unresolved.³⁸ It is, then, that piece

34 Menninger, *Israel*, 64, 156 et passim.

35 Absent in Künzel, *Gemeindeverständnis*, 121–66. Menninger’s work, however, on David as “the true Messiah of Israel” is much appreciated (*Israel*, 88–93).

36 Cf. ch. 1, nn. 3, 131.

37 Cf. 2 Samuel 7; 2 Kgs 25:1–2, 6–7, 27–30; 1 Chr 3:16–23; Zechariah 4; 12–13; Ezra 3:10–13; Haggai.

38 In addition to those explored in ch. 4 of this work, this is another likely reason for the proliferation of Second Temple Jewish texts that made theological use of the exile. Some narratives were set during the time of exile (additions to Dan; Tob; Jdt; Bar). Some used the exile as a lens to rewrite old traditions (1 En. 89–93; Jub.; T. 12 Patr.; Pss. Sol. 17) or as a basis for prayer (Pss. Sol. 8:23; 11:1–3; cf. also Ezra 9:8–9; Neh 9:36–37; Dan 9). Some saw the exile as a start-over moment for true Israel (CD 1; Ant. 8.6; 20.5.1; J.W. 2.13.4–5) or at

of the metanarrative that inhibits the conclusion of the OT story—the enduring exile—that the gospel uses as the starting point to finish the storyline, tying off the incomplete narrative threads.³⁹ The exile endures, but ends in Jesus for “his people.” Historical readers (the best of which approximate the Model Reader) who respond, then, to the disciples’ commission and observe “everything whatsoever [Jesus] commanded [them]” (28:20) join the assembly of those who respond in the narrative to Jesus’ δεῦτε ὁπίσω μου (4:19). In other words, *the rhetorical effect of 28:20 is to place subsequent believing communities retrospectively into the narrative as those who respond to Jesus’ end-of-exile summons, encapsulated in 4:17.*⁴⁰ They, then, become Yahweh’s end-of-exile people with the eschatological Davidic king as their covenantal head. Their once-incomplete metanarrative, therefore, finds resolution with this newest installment that drives the redemptive-historical story-line to its intended telos (at least ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος; 28:20). Thus, Matthew’s church understood itself positively vis-à-vis the OT narrative, suspended with the exile and resolved in Jesus.

But there were also those who had no desire to “observe everything whatsoever [Jesus] commanded” (28:20). The Matthean community likely understood others (anyone opposed to the Davidic King Jesus and, therefore, them) negatively vis-à-vis their own newly updated metanarrative. This last addendum to the OT story is what is lacking in the Pharisees et al. They refuse to follow the Davidic King Jesus out of exile. Without an eschatological Davidide, therefore, they are still in exile. But more than that, their exile will be aggravated when the mark of exile, the destruction of the temple, is recapitulated. In fact, the Matthean community could make this case all the stronger after 70 CE.⁴¹

And so this early community of Christians has entered the fray. Not only did the various first-century CE Jewish groups have different definitions for Israel,

least as a starting point to write their own history (2 Macc 1–2). Some foretold the future as an end to the exile (*Pss. Sol.* 17; 1 QM 1; 4QapocrJer^C), which is of course an OT vision as well (Isa 6–12, 40–66; Jer 30–33; Ezek 4:5–9; 8–11; 33–37; 40–48; Dan 9:24–27; Mic 2:12–13; 4:1–5:4a; Hos 1–2; 11; 14).

39 Perrin says, “The Matthean community appears to be working out its faith within the ambiguity of exile” (*Jesus*, 61).

40 Nolland also remarks that “John’s call to repentance merges into that of Jesus’ call as it emerges in the unfolding of the Gospel, and this in turn merges into the call to discipleship in the context of the postresurrection church” (*Matthew*, 144).

41 Not only would the obliteration of the temple have felt like the destruction of the first one, but it was also “a time when the variety of received traditions that had been retained from past exiles were retrieved, remembered, respected and reinterpreted” (Kitchen, “Another Exile,” 4). See also Carter, *Margins*, 41.

they also had different definitions of exile. Matthew's church has attempted to align their definitions of both along OT trajectories, thereby making their claim on both. While other groups also saw themselves as the return-from-exile people, only the Christians could place David at the center of their claim.

Thus, the socio-rhetorical effect of the gospel was bireferential. It caused the community to look to the OT narrative to positively locate themselves on the redemptive-historical calendar as Yahweh's covenantal end-of-exile people. Likewise it brought them to look to the rest of the world around them, specifically the mother religion from which they were departing, to locate others negatively on the *same* redemptive-historical story-line as those without a means of escaping exile, for they have refused Yahweh's provision through David. Instead, their exile is aggravated when the temple is again destroyed—the climactic point of covenant rupture and inception of exile in the OT recapitulating itself for those who reject Yahweh's eschatological king. Jesus is the only way out of exile. But in the eyes of the Matthean community, for those who deny Jesus he is the one who eschatologizes their exilic condition.⁴²

Such conclusions are, of course, provisional and ought to be weighed against studies that approach the text from other methodological angles.⁴³ Nonetheless, these findings at least suggest that perhaps the scholarly discussion

42 Konradt is absolutely right that Israel does not collectively reject the βασιλεία, but that Jesus' opponents are the Jerusalem *authorities* (*Israel*, 89–166), and they are the ones under judgment (*ibid.*, 167–264). Thus, there is no “generalizing proclamation of judgment,” but “those who set themselves against Jesus and his ecclesia will have to face eschatological punishment” (*ibid.*, 264). Therefore, with Jesus' ministry there is “a process of differentiation taking place within Israel” (*ibid.*). But I find Konradt's suggestion that the entire nation is still the people of God as “Israel” (*ibid.*, 345–53) slightly confusing. On what basis in Matthew can even those who reject the βασιλεία (that part of the nation, not all the nation to be clear) still be a part of “Israel?” Israel in its new “‘role’ of the privileged addressee of Jesus' messianic devotion” (*ibid.*, 350) seems to be a definition from silence rather than textual warrant. Yes, Israel the nation is the first to see the great light of salvation (4:15–16), but why should that be a definition for “Israel” and how can it continue to be so post-Easter? It seems to me that a more natural conclusion to Konradt's otherwise-superb study is that some have cut themselves off from inclusion among “Israel” which Jews and Gentiles have come to join through the work of Israel's Messiah. This, then, can be nothing other than the ecclesia, Jesus' “people.” They are, after all, “the (only) legitimate custodian of *Israel's* theological tradition” (*ibid.*, 319).

43 Indeed, the choice of any method mixed with historical assumptions and the scholar's own ideological presuppositions limit a study, from the start, within certain parameters. The fact that others operate outside such parameters is what makes the pursuit of truth so intriguing and—after competing theories have been given their fair hearing—eventually fruitful.

concerning the social location of Matthew's church could be reoriented. This reading proposes that Matthew's church may not have thought of themselves in terms of "in," "out," or "departing" from the synagogue. They certainly did not understand themselves as departing from *Judaism*.⁴⁴ They thought they were the continuation of Israel and that they were calling others to "come in" with them. They did not think they were leaving some other body. They did not see themselves as schismatics. They saw *others* as "out" (out of Israel) and in need to enter "in" (return from exile). For the text evinces that the most determinative rhetoric available to the community was not "in or out of *the synagogue*" but "in or out of *Israel*," the former of which is nowhere identified in Matthew's narrative as the locus of covenantal continuation of Yahweh's people after the exile. Rather, *allegiance to David is the distinctive mark of Israel's emergence out of the ashes of exile*, which seems to be a far more important ideological consideration to Matthew than day-to-day synagogue participation. Therefore, as the Matthean community increasingly saw itself as a distinct group, it could at one and the same time hold on to old traditions and also separate from the larger mother-tradition without viewing *itself* as sectarian or divergent. All this was rhetorically accomplished through the theological Davidic lens of "return from exile."⁴⁵

But to call them a distinct group is not to call them a closed unit. There seems to have been a great openness to the future and therefore an unwillingness to mark off its boundaries. While each member of the community would have understood him- or herself as having returned from exile because of their allegiance to Jesus, as a whole the group could not consider itself fully returned from exile until its full membership has come in (cf. 24:14). This new Israel is destined to grow larger and larger. Hence the narrative is open-ended; Jesus'

44 As Luz puts it, they "did not see themselves as part of a new religion, called Christianity, but as outgrowths of the nation of Israel. More than that, they saw themselves as the core of the twelve tribes" (*Theology*, 18–19). Cf. also France, *Evangelist*, 223–41; *Matthew*, 17–18.

45 Thus, I also reject "the traditional replacement thesis" that Konradt *inter alia* writes so eloquently against (see *Israel*, 9–13 et passim). The issue in Matthew's gospel is not that one has "replaced" or "superseded" another, but that the covenant God's intentions have been "fulfilled" (hence the multitude of, also rightly called, *fulfillment*-quotations). The church—made up Jews and non-Jews; such a distinction being completely irrelevant—emerges organically in continuity with OT Israel. Konradt says it well that the inclusion of Gentiles is a "theological necessity" as the "fulfillment of the promises to Abraham" (p. 309). Thus, "Gentiles join *Israel* insofar as they are incorporated into the children of Abraham or receive a share in the ministry of salvation that originated in Israel" (p. 321; emphasis original). And this *joining to Israel* of Gentile converts is the church, Jesus' people. Hence no "replacement" is in effect, but an inclusion into the old as "fulfillment."

followers are ordered to continue to spread Jesus' teachings and fold more and more people into the community. Its boundaries, therefore, were porous. Anyone could join them (or leave them; cf. 18:17) at any moment. Thus, they would have thought of social groups quite fluidly. As a first-century eschatological people, therefore, it was undetermined what they would be and where the boundary lines would finally fall. In other words, Matthew's missionary impulse prohibited his people from closing the doors and distinctly finalizing its roles. The theological concept that helped them situate themselves (with open arms) amidst those other groups, and gave them the trajectory with which to think about that future was "end of exile." Thus, restoration from exile through the eschatological Son of David was a determinative paradigm for Matthean Christology, ecclesiology, missiology and eschatology.

Conclusion

This study has implications for canonical criticism as well insofar as the theological problem of the entire scope of the Christian Scriptures is not a resolution to Israel's exile, but everyone's exile. In the scope of the canon Israel appears as a microcosm of the entire human race expelled from Eden, the original "land." From Genesis 3:15 to the end of Revelation we read of the Creator's agenda to restore an exiled humanity to the place of covenantal fellowship with him.⁴⁶ Thus Matthew sits as a bridge between the emblematic history of Israel and the expansion of the Creator's design to the entire cosmos, regularly spoken of in the New Testament.⁴⁷ This work also has implications for understanding Christian origins which is valuable not only for the historian. Leszek Kołakowski once remarked that "we study history not so much to find out what happened as to learn who we are."⁴⁸ Thus, the enduring socio-rhetorical effect

46 See the concise but excellent T. Desmond Alexander, *From Eden to the New Jerusalem: An Introduction to Biblical Theology* (Grand Rapids: Kregel Academic, 2009).

47 In this way Matthew's "return from exile" dovetails with Paul's doctrine of reconciliation (cf. G. K. Beale, *A New Testament Biblical Theology: The Unfolding of the Old Testament in the New* [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011], 527–48). The once alienated, even hostile, creation (with humanity as its head) is now brought back into fellowship with the Creator only through Christ. Consider also the creation/image of God theology of Hebrews. Revelation is also, of course, a return to Eden vision. Thus, Matthew is a very engaged conversation partner with the rest of the NT-canonical authors.

48 Quoted by Ken Myers, "Interview with John W. O'Malley on the Prophetic, Academic, Humanistic, and Artistic Vectors of Western Culture," *MHAJ* 73 (2005): 1.4. Kołakowski's more famous line, "We learn history not in order to know how to behave or how to

of Matthew's Jesus-story—still powerful two millennia later in cultures as far removed ideologically from Second Temple Judaism as they are in distance from Jerusalem—is to make “return from exile” a determinative paradigm for any and all communities who are not ashamed to call Jesus Immanuel, *God with David* and therefore *with us*.

succeed, but to know who we are,” comes from his *Modernity on Endless Trial* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 158. The latent existentialism of such a comment is subtle enough to go unnoticed by most but transparent enough to make the historical pursuit all the more urgent for Christians who want to say something about “God” in terms other than the prolific postmodern psychobabble.

The Source of Matthew's Formula-Quotations

Studies concerning Matthew's sources for the formula-quotations have produced, in broadest terms, two competing theories: Matthew either had a list of *testimonia* or recourse to a unified OT text.¹ Strecker is the most widely known contender for the former view.² He argues that Matthew had a list of *testimonia*, and that he inserted the quotations where he could. His argument revolves around three points. First, Strecker observes that Matthew has adapted his context-quotations (those not introduced with a formula), and particularly those he shares with Mark and Q, toward the LXX.³ Yet, Matthew's formula-quotations show evidence of a Hebrew text-form.⁴ From this, Strecker concludes that the same person cannot have been responsible for both types of quotations.⁵ Second, to Strecker the formula-quotations do not fit their Matthean contexts very well.⁶ This is further proof that the formula-quotations are not Matthean but prior to his redaction. Third, the formula-quotations do not exhibit typical Matthean language.⁷ Together, these three observations demonstrate to Strecker that Matthew made use of an inherited *Zitatensammlung*, a list of proof-texts.⁸

Strecker, however, does not have many followers; scholars by and large have pulled away from the *testimonia* hypothesis.⁹ First, it is disputed whether Matthew moves toward the LXX in his context-quotations and toward a Hebrew text in his formula-quotations. George M. Soares Prabhu has found that Matthew's context-quotations

1 Variations to these two options, of course, exist.

2 Strecker, *Weg*, 49–85. So too L. Vaganay, *Le problème synoptique: Une hypothèse de travail* (Tournai, Belg.: Desclée, 1952), 237–40; Martin C. Albl, “And Scripture Cannot be Broken”: *The Form and Function of the Early Christian Testimonia Collections* (NovTSup 96; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 179–90.

3 Strecker, *Weg*, 21–29.

4 Ibid., 50–51. So too Charles Cutler Torrey, *Documents of the Primitive Church* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941), 41–90; Sherman E. Johnson, “The Biblical Quotations in Matthew,” *HTR* 36 (1943): 135–53.

5 Strecker, *Weg*, 25, 50, 83. So too Vaganay, *Problème*, 237–40.

6 Strecker, *Weg*, 49–85. This is the thrust of Albl's argument as well; he examines only Mic 5:1 and 2 Sam 5:2 in Matt 2:6, the unknown quotation in Matt 2:23, and Isa 42:1–4 in Matt 12:18–21 (*Scripture*, 179–90).

7 Strecker, *Weg*, 83–84.

8 Ibid., 28, 50, 82–85.

9 Both Stendahl (*School*, iv, 217) and Dodd (*According*, 26, 126) once assumed the *testimonia* hypothesis but moved away from it.

do not favor the LXX consistently.¹⁰ In the formula-quotations themselves, Matthew directly quotes the LXX twice (Matt 1:23; 3:3).¹¹ As for the rest, most scholars have come to agree with Krister Stendahl that Matthew's deviations from the LXX are not Hebraic per se, but show evidence of a "mixed text" of Greek, Hebrew, and possibly Aramaic origins.¹² To Stendahl, the mixed text "gives proof of a targumizing procedure" where Matthew rendered his own quotations from a mixed text available to him.¹³ Gundry has examined all of Matthew's OT quotations (and several allusions) and concludes that they exhibit the same characteristics, showing that one continuous Hebrew Bible is the source of all of Matthew's OT quotations.¹⁴ Recently Menken has argued that what has appeared to some as a mixed text-form is really evidence that Matthew used a revised LXX—one that has been moved closer to the Hebrew.¹⁵ What is more, Menken contends that this revised LXX was "Matthew's Bible" for all his quotations.¹⁶ More significantly for this discussion, Menken concludes that "Matthew drew them from a continuous Greek text."¹⁷ Second, Rothfuchs, now followed by most scholars,¹⁸

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- 10 Soares Prabhu, *Formula*, 77–84. Strecker himself even admits that 16:27b and 27:43 are not strictly Septuagintal, but have a close affinity to the Hebrew text (*Weg*, 26–28). Menken says, "Editorial changes that result in a greater agreement with the LXX are counterbalanced by changes that result in greater difference from the LXX" ("Messianic Interpretation," 462).
 - 11 Strecker even admits that his thesis cannot account for why Matt 1:23 is Septuagintal, but gives no reason why this piece of counterevidence is "nicht im Widerspruch zu der Vermutung" (*Weg*, 55).
 - 12 Stendahl, *School*, 97–127. So too Gundry, *Use*, 89–127, 172–74; O. Lamar Cope, *Matthew: A Scribe Trained for the Kingdom of Heaven* (CBQMS 5; Washington D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1976), 121–23; Soares Prabhu, *Formula*, 84–104; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:573–77; Keener, *Matthew*, 87.
 - 13 Stendahl, *School*, 127. So too Gundry, *Use*, 172–74; Soares Prabhu, *Formula*, 104–106.
 - 14 Gundry, *Use*, 147–50, 172–85.
 - 15 Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, *inter alia* 6–10, 279–83.
 - 16 *Ibid.*, 203–78.
 - 17 *Ibid.*, *inter alia* 10. To Menken the formula-quotations "do not derive from a collection of testimonies or something similar, but from a continuous biblical text" ("Messianic Interpretation," 463). On this point Stendahl anticipates Menken's work when, in his 1968 reprint of *The School of St. Matthew*, he states that in the fourteen years since his study was first published advances in OT textual criticism have suggested that Greek versions of the OT were continually revised to match the Hebrew texts. Thus it has become "more probable that readings found in Matthew could witness to text forms actually available in Greek, prior to Matthew [which makes] the recourse to testimonies less compelling as an explanation of textual peculiarities" (*School* [1968], iv).
 - 18 Frankemölle, *Jahwebund*, 16; Soares Prabhu, *Formula*, 107–61; Neyrey, "Thematic Use," 457–73; France, "Formula-Quotations," 114–34; Stanton, *Gospel*, 351–63; Miler, *Citations*, *inter*

contends that the relationship between the quotations and their new contexts is not as puerile as Strecker suggests.¹⁹ Third, McConnell, who is by and large sympathetic to Strecker's *testimonia* hypothesis,²⁰ finds the argument from Matthean language weak, seeing that "many of the quotations are very short or require uncommon words."²¹

Further evidence against a collection of *testimonia* is found in the judgment that certain formula-quotations in Matthew seem to necessitate narrative contexts. Hosea 11:1 serves no testimonial purpose when it is isolated from the Matthean account of Jesus' flight to Egypt (Matt 2:13–21).²² The same could be said of Isa 8:23–9:1 without Jesus' preaching in Capernaum near "Zebulun" and "Naphtali" (Matt 4:13–15), and still more forcefully of Jer 31:15 without the massacre in Bethlehem (Matt 2:16).²³ It is hard enough to see what Jer 31:15 has to do with Jesus where it is in Matthew 2. How much more if it existed in isolation from any context at all in a *Zitatensammlung*?²⁴ The only extant pre-Christian list of texts commonly accepted as *testimonia*, 4QTestimonia (4Q175), is primarily messianic.²⁵ We would expect the entries in early Christian *testimonia* to be messianic as well.²⁶ It is therefore inexplicable how texts like Hos 11:1, Isa 8:23–9:1, and Jer 31:15 could find their way into a list of *testimonia*. At the least we would expect *testimonia* to be popular themes of early Christian preaching and oft-repeated in Christian

alia 192–98; Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, *inter alia* 279–80; idem, "Messianic Interpretation," 463–64.

- 19 Rothfuchs, *Erfüllungszitate*, 57–89. Of course my work agrees with Rothfuchs on this point. Strecker himself tacitly surrenders his argument from context when he comments that Matthew incorporated 2 Sam 5:2 into his quotation of Mic 5:3 (Matt 2:6) in order to bring out the less apparent Davidic theology of the latter (*Weg*, 57, 99). It is, after all, the Matthean context that is concerned with Jesus' descent from David. Further, McConnell contends that this observation runs counter to Strecker's *testimonia* hypothesis in that "it is unlikely that Mic. 5:3 was joined with 11 Sam. 5:2 in the collection, whereas Matthew had reason for joining them" (*Law*, 111). I argue, on the other hand, that Matthew does not make recourse to 2 Sam 5:2, but instead looks to the *context* of Mic 5:1.
- 20 McConnell, *Law*, 136.
- 21 Ibid., 135. Further, McConnell contends that Matthean language is quite prevalent in the quotation of Isa 53:4 in Matt 8:17 (ibid., 120–21).
- 22 Soares Prabhu, *Formula*, 71. This same problem was also observed by an early proponent of the *testimonia* hypothesis, F. Crawford Burkitt (*The Gospel History and its Transmission* [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1907], 125).
- 23 Soares Prabhu, *Formula*, 71–72.
- 24 Says Menken, "Another argument against the testimonies hypothesis is that detached from the Matthean context, the series of fulfillment quotations constitutes a strange and heterogeneous collection" ("Messianic Interpretation," 464).
- 25 Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "'4QTestimonia' and the New Testament," *TS* 18 (1957): 513–37.
- 26 Soares Prabhu, *Formula*, 72.

documents.²⁷ But they are not. Of Matthew's thirteen formula-quotations, only three are repeated elsewhere in the NT (Isa 6:9–10; 40:3; Zech 9:9). Finally, where we would expect to find the most bountiful use of *testimonia*, in the passion, death and resurrection narrative, they are the scarcest.²⁸ The evidence strongly suggests that Matthew had no recourse to a *Zitatensammlung*.²⁹

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- 27 Ibid. Dodd has made a summary list of the most commonly referenced OT passages during the early days of the spread of the kerygma (*According*, 107–108). One would expect to see significant overlap between Dodd's list and a hypothetical list of *testimonia*. Only Zech 9:9, however, can be found in what is alleged to have been Matthew's *testimonia* collection. This would make Matthew very idiosyncratic. Albl even admits so much (*Scripture*, 181). No wonder he only considers three out of (what he counts as) fourteen formula-quotations—hardly enough evidence to sustain the thesis. Concerning Albl's work as a whole, David Lincicum says, "Many of Albl's conclusions are simply asserted without any clear criteria to determine the presence of a testimony" ("Paul and the *Testimonia*: Quo Vademus?," *JETS* [2008]: 304 n. 48).
- 28 It is exactly in the passion narrative that John's formula-quotations bulk large (Soares Prabhu, *Formula*, 73). Yet Matthew's one and only formula-quotation in his passion account (a conflation of Zech 11:12–13 and Jer 32:1–15 in Matt 27:9–10) is not even about Jesus (ibid., 72). McConnell calls this absence "striking" (*Law*, 134). Rothfuchs calls it nearly conclusive evidence that Matthew did not have a list of *testimonia*. He says, "Die Herkunft der Erfüllungszitate aus einer Zitatensammlung ist außerdem deshalb unwahrscheinlich, weil solche Zitate im Passionsbericht fehlen. Es ist kaum denkbar, daß in einer christlichen Testimoniensammlung keine Schriftstellen zur Passion Jesu standen oder daß der Evangelist solche Stellen übergangen haben sollte, zumal er auch die Leidensgeschichte von der Erfüllung nicht ausnahm" (*Erfüllungszitate*, 105). Even Albl admits that "Matthew shows a greater interest in the details of Jesus' life (in particular Jesus' infancy) in contrast to the creedal emphasis (with its particular focus on Jesus' suffering, death and resurrection) of the wider *testimonia* tradition" (*Scripture*, 181). Are we therefore to conclude that Matthew had a different list of *testimonia* than everyone else?
- 29 Soares Prabhu's summarizing statement is helpful: "[Matthew's formula-quotations] are obviously a highly specialized group of quotations, with a very individual theological and hermeneutical slant. They are, on the whole, not messianic; they refer to events which, while no doubt significant for Mt's understanding of the life of Jesus, cannot be said to be the high-lights of early Christian preaching; and they reflect a very personal method of interpreting Scripture, one which calls for a good deal of ingenuity in its application. These are not the characteristics of anonymous *testimonia*, but of a carefully fashioned redactional group of quotations" (*Formula*, 73). Similarly Stendahl, *School*, 217. Dodd concludes as well that "the quotation of passages from the Old Testament (whether or not under a formula of quotation) is not to be accounted for by the postulate of a primitive anthology of isolated proof-texts. The composition of 'testimony-books' was the result, not the presupposition, of the work of early Christian biblical scholars" (*According*, 126; cf. p. 26). So too Otto Michel, *Paulus und seine Bibel* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972), 43. Lincicum adds a number of helpful comments to the same

Three alternative hypotheses have been preferred. Some scholars have adopted G. D. Kilpatrick's thesis that the quotations found their way into the gospel through the common practice of expository preaching of the OT in synagogues.³⁰ Stendahl concludes that the variety of text-forms shows that many persons were responsible for bringing the quotations together in the milieu of a school for church leaders.³¹ The most common view among scholars, though, is that the author himself is responsible for the quotations, having made use of a unified text.³² I align myself with this consensus.

effect ("Paul," 305–308), as does Stanton (*Gospel*, 352–54, 358–60). See also Martin Rese, *Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1969), 217–23.

30 Kilpatrick, *Origins*, 57–71, 92–95; McConnell, *Law*, 135–38; Rothfuchs, *Erfüllungszitate*, 104–109.

31 Stendahl, *School*, 20–29, 203–206.

32 *Inter alia* Gundry, *Use*, 172–78; Soares Prabhu, *Formula*, 45–58; Stanton, *Gospel*, 353–63; France, *Evangelist*, 176–79, Menken, *Matthew's*, 9–10, 280, Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:575–76.

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